

A N
E S S A Y
T O W A R D S A
P R O P O S A L
F O R
CATHOLIC COMMUNION.
W H E R E I N

Above Sixty of the principal controverted Points,
which have hitherto divided Christendom,
being called over, it is examined, how many
of them may, and ought to be laid aside,
and how few remain to be accommodated,
for the effecting a General Peace.

B Y A
MINISTER of the CHURCH of ENGLAND.

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Y. A. 2

TOWARDS
PROF. A. J.

FOR
CATHOLIC UNION.

WILLIAM

THE CATHOLIC UNION OF ENGLAND
AND WALES
HAS THE HONOUR TO ANNOUNCE
THAT THE FOLLOWING
LIST OF NAMES
HAS BEEN SUBMITTED
TO THE COMMITTEE
FOR THE CATHOLIC UNION
OF ENGLAND AND WALES
AND THAT THE SAME
HAS BEEN APPROVED
BY THE COMMITTEE
AND IS NOW
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BY A
RESOLUTION OF THE CATHOLIC UNION OF ENGLAND.



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T H E

P R E F A C E.

THOSE who have read the antient fathers, and observed with what severity they pronounce against schism, will easily find an apology for this Essay, as far as it aims at the healing of divisions amongst the Christian churches. And those who have observed, how much *Cassander*, *Grotius*, *Forbes*, and others, have laboured in composing the differences of the reformed churches with the church of *Rome*, so to close up that great breach, which has been so long between them, will readily excuse the attempt here made of pursuing the same charitable design, in regard of our own church.

It is a point I have been long considering, and a work for which I have now for some years been

preparing, omitting no opportunity of books, or other information, that could give me an insight into the state of our division. And because I was sensible, how absolutely necessary an impartial hand was for carrying on this design, therefore my great solicitude was, how to break that bias which education, study, and interest had given me in disfavour of the church of *Rome*. Upon which consideration, I concluded it the most unsuspected method, not to take information of that church, either from my own idea of it, or from any adversary, but to let it speak for itself; and accordingly, without asking questions of any that are without, I have gone into it as far as was lawful in my station; I have gone into its councils, into its profession of faith, into its most approved catechisms, into its liturgy, into its most solemn offices, and have every where both enquired,

enquired, and searched, what it teaches, what it forbids, what it allows, and what it discourages.

This I judged to be a way most free from exceptions, as having had the experience, how many mistakes there are in what is taken up upon credit, especially, where party, or prejudice bring the report in suspicion, and not thinking it at all reasonable to trust others, in a case where I was not only jealous, but afraid to trust myself.

In this method then, I have enquired of the church of *Rome*, what are the articles of her communion. I have given her the liberty of expounding her own terms, of declaring in what sense she understands her own doctrine, and proposes it to others to be believed; and as she delivers it, so I have set it down, *not asserting* any thing myself, but only *making a report* of it in an *historical* manner, as it is de-

livered by her, and therefore have no concern in defending, but only in the faithful relation of it.

And because my design is to see if any thing can be done, in order to remove, or lessen the debates between the church of *England*, and that of *Rome*, therefore I must freely own, I have in every point enquired, what is the most moderate sense, in which the doctrine of the Roman church is delivered by her own pastors, such as are within her communion, without being censured for what they so teach.

I have done the same on our side, examining how far is granted by those, who seem to be men of learning and temper; not charging the opinions of such particular doctors upon our church, but to see how far it is tolerated at least, if not allowed within our pale; and while in this, I have made choice of such chiefly, whose dignity has made
 them

them eminent, whose learning challenges respect, and whose labour in the study of antiquity, qualifies them for speaking in this point; I hope so much deference will be had to them, that their depositions may be allowed in all such cases, where the question is of what was taught, and believed in the primitive church; and there will be judged no necessity at least, of separate communion, upon the account of such points, which these positively maintain within our own communion, and as positively assert to be primitive truths.

By this way I have examined the principal controverted questions between the two churches, and by reducing them to certain rules proper in this case, have considered, how many of them may be compounded, how many be laid by, and which are the remaining differences, which still want an accommodation. I
hope,

hope, upon the whole, it will appear, that something is here advanced, in order to a common peace, enough to give encouragement to others to pursue this healing method. For my part, I desire no peace, if it cannot be obtained without consenting to error or sin; but if it can be procured upon any easier terms; if submitting to inconvenience, or surrendering an interest, be the conditions proposed, I should not think them hard for so public a good, as catholic communion, and peace of the church. In this method, and with this disposition of mind, have I proceeded in the following essay. If any thing be there offered serviceable to this public end, I shall rejoice; and if any thing be advanced too far, through oversight, to the prejudice of any gospel-truth, I leave it to the examination of those in power, to whose censure I submit all mistakes.

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E S S A Y
TOWARDS A
P R O P O S A L
F O R
CATHOLIC COMMUNION.

The Occasion of this Essay.

BEING appointed to preach a vifitation sermon, I soon judged the Unity of the Church to be a proper fubject for the acquitting myfelf in fuch a manner, as might be fuitable to the af- fembly, which I was to expect: and though an accident diverted me then from that argument, I have fince re- fumed it, and gone on with thofe ftu- dies, wherein I always took great de-
B light.

light. But as this had its charm, so it met with an allay. For I confess, I was struck, upon reflecting, how far we come short, of the beauty and glory of the primitive church. I observed the antient church, as one body throughout the world, wherein all national churches were united. Then turning home, I sighed, and cried out to myself: Is not this a great blemish to our church, that we are in communion with no part of the christian world; that we are separated from all; that in our island, which is but as an atom in comparison of the universe, we are not even united among ourselves, but have as many divisions as can be found in all Christendom besides? Here the love and zeal for that church in which I ever lived, drew tears from me of compassion and grief; I could not but lament the narrow bounds of its communion. But as so great a concern, in all other cases, is naturally attended with desires of relief, and turns the thoughts every way, to see, if by any, and by what means, there can be hopes of redress; so I began to judge it more reasonable to consider of help, than to

waste



waste my spirits in useleſs complaints. Hence I applied my whole conſideration to examine, if there was no means could be propoſed for taking off the ſtain from our church, by enlarging her communion, and reſtoring her to her primitive ſtate.

This thought met indeed with diſcouragement enough to render it abortive. For I could not but ſee ſuch a temper at home, as might cut off all hopes of accommodation; I ſaw the breach ſo wide between us and the church of *Rome*, that I could foreſee no likelihood of its being healed. But that zeal, that love for our church, which firſt put me upon looking about for the remedy of its unhappy condition, would not let me deſpair. It ſuggeſted, that difficulties ought not to diſcourage the propoſals of a public good, that ſomething is to be attempted, upon the confidence of an over-ruling Providence, improving oftentimes weak endeavours, for the carrying on the greateſt works, beyond what could be expected from the proſpect of human reaſon. Some ſuch arguments were

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enough

enough to a willing mind, and hereupon I made it my business to enquire, what method might probably be serviceable, in order to the great end I proposed.

Inclination first led me most pressingly to consider this with regard to all that dissent from us at home; for I cannot but own, my strongest bent is to do good to my own country and nation, and the first glory of a national church is to be united within itself. But then reflecting that the unity I proposed, was of a greater extent, than the bounds of our island, and that the communion I desired, and most peculiar to Christianity, was not national only but catholic; hence I saw myself obliged to pass our seas, and examine the much more considerable-division from us, I mean, whatever is in communion with the see of *Rome*; and upon a full consideration of each party, I observed at length, that *Popery* was at the bottom of all; that this kept us divided from so many foreign churches abroad, and that the same was made the grounds of our divisions at home;

home; so that this being the true occasion of the narrowness of our communion, and of our standing divided from all Christian churches, there could be no likelihood of our church being bettered, except there could be some accommodation found in this grand affair.

Hence to pursue my design, I was cast upon the necessity of examining all the doctrines of Popery, to see, if there was any possibility of lessening the controversy between us, and in particular, to enquire whether there could not be communion with that church, without approving, or consenting to, the many scandals, cruelties, errors, superstitions and idolatries, which commonly make up her character.

On this single point, I plainly saw all depended, and it seemed as evident to me, that if, upon my enquiry I could either give hope, or prepare things for an accommodation of such differences, as have hitherto kept us divided from the greatest part of Christendom, and likewise occasioned divisions amongst ourselves; it would be service to our

church, in opening by one expedient, a way to peace both at home and abroad, and preparing for catholic communion, which as it was the ornament of the primitive, so it ought to be the glory now of every part of the catholic church.

This task, I foresaw, could not fail of being attended with personal inconveniences, and laying me under an ill name. But however, I saw reason enough still to encourage the undertaking. For certainly, if schisms and divisions are the scandal of the church, and the triumph of devils, it must needs be commendable to use all endeavours for removing or lessening them. If contentions and religious wars are the overthrow of religion, the love of God and religion, must encourage the proposal of all lawful expedients for the restoring of peace.

Well, and upon these principles do I think it reasonable to open the communion of our church, and to let in popery? No, far be this thought from me; I enter here a protestation against idolatry and superstition, and whatsoever is
opposite

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opposite to the rules of the gospel. But at the same time, it may be reasonable to do here, as we generally do with the worst of our enemies. For, if carrying on war with such, is considerably prejudicial to the state, it is certainly no disservice to the public, to see how near we can come to peace, and to enquire if there be no possibility of removing any of those things, which are laid hold on as the just occasion of prosecuting the war.

So far as this I may propose in the case of all our religious wars; and if for so doing, I am traduced as a papist, I value it not. I am contented with the worst of slanders, so I can any ways contribute to the removing of schism. I embrace all that ignorance and malice can invent, so I can but be so happy as to do any thing for taking off the infamous character given the Christian world, and restore our church to the beauty and order of the primitive. If I can but even remotely prepare for so good a work, I shall not set any personal inconveniencies in the balance against it;

it; being assured that while the rash, furious and schismatical brains express their gall, I shall have the encouragement of the better part, the judicious, sober, and pious, who at present lament the unhappy state of our church.

In order to what I have here proposed, I intend to touch at the most considerable controversies that are between the two churches. Not to dispute them over again, for that has been sufficiently done by many learned pens; but to see if there be any of those points can be laid aside, which have hitherto been made the subject of most uncharitable heats, and increased our division. If I find any such, and mark them out, I shall so far concur to the lessening the number of our contentions, as likewise to examine in what points the controversy sticks, upon the decision of which, our common peace, and even catholic communion depends; and if these can be reduced to a slender number, I hope it may be a service to the public, and that hence some pious souls, and lovers of unity, will be encouraged to see if there
be

be a possibility of doing any thing for the composing of them.

C H A P. I.

Rules and Principles for proceeding in this Essay.

FOR better discovering, if there be any point of controversy which can, and ought to be laid aside, and proceeding more clearly in this important subject, I set down some rules relating to church communion, and principally those prescribed by the most reverend Dr. *Sharp*, archbishop of *York*, in his sermon preached before the Lord Mayor at *Guildhall* chapel, 1674; where having learnedly and zealously pressed our dissenters with obligation of church-communion; he labours to remove the occasions of the schism; and that all may pursue these things that make for peace, he gives some rules, which seem evident above dispute.

The first rule is, *to distinguish carefully between matters of faith, and matters of opinion; and as to these latter, to be willing, that every one should enjoy the liberty of judging for himself.* And consequently, that matters of *opinion* ought to be no hinderance to communion with a church which imposes no such opinions on its members, but leaves every one to judge in such matters as seems most reasonable to them.

Another rule is, *That errors in a church as to matter of doctrines, or corruptions, as to matter of practice, so long as these errors and corruptions are only suffered, but not imposed, cannot be a sufficient cause of separation; the reason is, because these things are not sins in us, so long as we do not join with the church in them.* So that so long as we can communicate with a church without either professing her errors, or partaking in her sinful practices, as in the present case it is supposed we may do; so long we are bound, upon the principle before laid down, not to separate from her. And consequently, such errors in doctrines, or corruptions
in

in practice, ought to be no hinderance to communion.

A third rule is, *Never to quarrel about words and phrases; but so long as other men mean much what the same that we do, let us be content, though they have not the luck to express themselves so well.* Where it is also noted how, *It often happens, that most bitter quarrels do commence, not so much from the different sense of the contending parties, concerning the things they contend about, as from the different terms expressing the same sense, and the different grounds they proceed upon, or arguments they make use of for the proof of it.* And consequently, that difference of terms and phrases ought to be no hinderance to communion.

A fourth rule is, *Never to charge upon men the consequences of their opinions, when they expressly disown them.* Where it is also to be observed that, *This is another thing doth hugely tend to widen our differences, and to exasperate mens spirits one against another; when having examined some opinion of a man, or party of men, and finding very great absurdities, and*
evil

evil consequences necessarily to flow from it, we presently throw all those into the dish of them that hold the opinion, as if they could not own the one, but they must necessarily own the other: Whereas indeed, the men we thus charge, may be so innocent in this matter, that they do not in the least dream of such consequences; or if they did, they would be so far from owning them, that they would abhor the opinion for their sakes.

A fifth rule is, That unscriptural impositions are not a warrantable cause of separation from a church; supposing that by unscriptural be meant no more than what is neither commanded nor forbid in the scriptures. For the actions required by these unscriptural impositions, are either in themselves lawful to be done, or not lawful to be done. If they be in themselves unlawful to be done, then they do not fall under that notion of unscriptural we here speak of; they are downright sins, and so either particularly, or in the general, forbid in the scripture. If they be in themselves lawful to be done, then it cannot be imagined how their being commanded, can make them unlawful:

unlawful : So that in this case, there is no sin in yielding obedience to the church, and consequently no cause of withdrawing our communion from it.

A sixth rule is, That there are but two cases wherein it can be lawful to withdraw our communion from a church, because there are but two cases wherein communion with her can be sinful. One is, when the church requires of us, as a condition of her communion, an acknowledgment and profession of that for a truth, which we know to be an error. The other is, when the church requires of us, as a condition of her communion, the joining with her in some practices, which we know to be against the laws of God. In these two cases, to withdraw our obedience to the church, is so far from being a sin, that it is a necessary duty, because we have an obligation to the laws of God, antecedent to that, we have to those of the church ; and we are bound to obey these no farther than they are consonant or agreeable to those.

These are assertions and rules gathered out of this sermon, though not set down all in this order ; and though directed only

only to the dissenters, yet are so very well grounded, just, and reasonable in themselves, that they ought to be observed in all cases where the question is of church communion; so far (and I dare boldly say it) that there is no Christian church in the world, can pretend its communion to be reasonable or ever lawful, which will not allow of these rules. For, to touch at some of them, What church can pretend its communion to be lawful, if matters of opinion, and bare school decisions are allowed a just exception against communicating with it? Or who can be a member of any church, if it be on condition to approve all the opinions of men or parties of men, that are in communion with it? Again, Where is the church, whose communion is lawful, if there be a necessity of approving all the corrupt practices of men or party of men, that are, or have been in it? Hence it must be allowed by all churches, that matters of *opinion* or *corrupt practices*, which are not imposed on any, are not a sufficient exception against communicating with them.

Again,

Again, that consequences ought not to be charged, is what all churches are concerned in, since there is none, but whose doctrines are, or may be, rendered monstrous by consequential absurdity, according to the reasoning at least of adverse parties. And therefore, for preventing the overthrow of all peace, all have reason to compound in the allowance of this principle. Especially too since the highest truth of christianity must be exposed to the liberties of blaspheming, and impious tongues, if common reason shall be allowed to describe them in all their seeming evident consequences.

All churches are likewise concerned in the fifth rule of unscriptural impositions, such as are neither commanded, or forbid in scripture. Since there is no christian congregation, which has the face of a church, but what claims this right, and likewise practises it, and therefore cannot make that a sufficient objection against communion, but by destroying itself.

But

But if there be any Christian church so well circumstanced, as not to be necessitated, to allow of these rules; yet I think, I may own it without casting any blemish on our church, I may own it, I say, that ours does, and must allow of them; since it would not be reasonable to expect any to communicate with us, if we make it *a condition of communion*, to subscribe, or approve all the opinions, or corrupt practices, there are, or have been found in the members, or even pastors of it. This is what no christian church can pretend to; there being no church which is not forced to tolerate many opinions, and corrupt practices in some of its members, which it cannot think reasonable to impose on such as desire to be incorporated in it.

If then we allow these rules, in order to the removing mistakes, and lessening controversies with such as here at home dissent from us: it seems just we should observe the same rules in the examining all other controversies, and think it reasonable to lay aside all such contentions, as according to these rules are, or ought to

to be no obstruction to communion. So far the love of justice, and desire of christian peace seem to oblige us. And if (as Prov. 20. 10.) *Divers weights, and divers measures are both of them alike abomination to the Lord* in all cases, though but of common dealings betwixt man and man; they must be much more so in cases on which depend the peace of the Christian world. Upon the consideration of which common peace, and upon the desire that catholic communion, may be again restored to the world, which was the honour and beauty of the primitive church, and is so much sighed for by many pious, and learned men, I proceed to examine the controversial debates which are between the two churches, and taking these rules along with me, will see according to this measure, which points may be laid down, and ought not to obstruct communion; as likewise which they are, which are still to be insisted on, as requiring a public accommodation, before there can be that universal communion which is desired. But while I speak of catholic communion, and often in this essay mention communion

munion with the *Roman* church, I here declare, I intend no communion, infringing the rights and liberties of our national church, but only such as was formerly in the primitive church, when all bishops of the earth were known by their communicatory letters; when they saluted one another by the name of brethren and colleagues; when each bishop maintained the rights of his own church, and expressed a zeal for, and was concerned in, the good of the whole; when charity cemented divided nations into one body, and of all believers made one kingdom, one mystical body of Christ. Such a catholic communion is what I propose, it is what I earnestly desire, it is the only meaning of all that is in this little essay; and therefore I desire the candid reader to stretch no expressions beyond this sense, for if he does, I here renounce it as an imposition. Now since our controversial divisions are the chief obstruction of this desirable unity; therefore I must here see how far these may be lessened. And I shall begin with that which abounds with the greatest difficulties.

C H A P. II.

Of the Pope.

UNDER this head, of so great import, there are several controversial points, which have occasioned great heats, and helped to keep open the breach between the two churches. These I shall set down in order, and having considered them in short, shall then apply the rule to them, and see what is the result.

Quest. I. Whether the Pope be infallible in his definitions and doctrines, so that all who are in communion with him are bound to receive, and believe them, as unquestionable truths?

This, in a great part, is so taught by *Bellarmin*; and if the point were, upon what terms we were to be in communion with *Bellarmin*; it is certain it could not be, but by subscribing such an infallibility. But our question is about the communion with his church: And having found, upon strict examination, that the church in communion with the see
of

of *Rome*, requires no assent to such a papal infallibility : That it is not so much as mentioned in the definition of the council of *Florence*, in which the controversy of the papal authority and prerogative, was professedly and fully discussed : That it is not in the *formula* of faith, set forth by Pope *Pius IV.* collected out of the council of *Trent*, and of which all promoted to church dignities, are obliged to make a solemn profession : That it is not proposed to such as are admitted members into that communion : That it has no place, either in their catechism *ad parochos*, nor in other catechisms, which are for the general instruction of the people : Having found likewise, that *Bellarmin* (*l. de Rom. Pont. c. 11.*) owns five eminent doctors positively denying this infallibility of the Pope, without being censured by their church for such their tenets : That the famous *Launojus* (*298. Ep. To. 4. Ep. ad Hen. Barillonum*) reckons up twelve universities, *Bononia, Pavia, Sienna* in *Italy*, *Louvain* in *Belgia*, *Cologne*, and *Hertford* in *Germany*, *Vienna* in *Austria*, *Cracow* in *Poland*,

Iand, Anjou, Orleans, Toulouse and Paris in France; and besides these numerous bodies, seven and fifty single writers, amongst which are many eminent bishops, archbishops and cardinals (*Id. To. 3. Ep. 2. ad Christoph. Faurveum*) viz. seventeen of the *Parisian* school, three of the *Spanish*, one of *Oxford*, five *Germans*, and no less than one and thirty in *Italy* alone; all professedly writing against this infallibility of the Pope, without any censure passed against them from that church; having found, I say, this, it seems evident from hence, that this papal infallibility is no term of communion with that church; that it is no more than a matter of opinion, and not of faith; and consequently, that according to our first rule, this question ought to be laid aside by the lovers of peace, and not made an obstruction to catholic communion, since within the communion of the *Roman* church, this infallibility of the Pope may be, and is as stiffly opposed, as by those that are out of it; and why then should our undue heats be kept up upon this account, whereas
that

that church obliges not its members to assent to any such doctrine?

Quest. II. Whether those in communion with the church of *Rome*, are bound to believe virtue to be wicked, and vice to be good, if it shall please his holiness to say so?

This is nowhere declared in the councils of *Florence*, or *Trent*;—it has no place in any *profession* of their faith, it is not taught in their *catechisms*, it is nowhere proposed as a *term* of communion. But the full account of this is, that it is an expression of *Bellarmin*, (*de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 5.*) who carries the Pope's infallibility so high, that he says, it is impossible for the Pope so to err, as to declare virtue to be wicked, and vice to be good: And to prove this, *ab inconvenienti*, he thus argues; if this infallibility be not granted in the Pope, then it would be attended with this fatal consequence, That if he should declare virtue to be bad, and vice to be good, all would be bound to believe it; having first supposed it impossible he should ever make such a declaration. In the same manner,

ner, as if any one, to prove that the scripture cannot err, in commanding vice, or forbidding virtue, should say, we be bound to believe virtue to be evil, and vice to be good, because we are bound to believe that to be evil which the scripture forbids, and that good, which it commands. In which manner of arguing, *ab inconvenienti*, there is no absurdity, it having been before established as a certain truth, that it is impossible it should so err. Here is the history of this point; and it being here evident, that the present question, as to the affirmative, is not so much as a common opinion among the writers of the *Roman* communion, but only a way of arguing made use of by one author, at the same time supposing it impossible, it seems but just, that this controversy should be laid by, according to our first rule, and not made an obstruction to a common union, since within the communion of the *Roman* church as well as out of it, there is the same liberty of maintaining this proposition, as a certain truth, that if in fact the Pope should at any time declare vir-

tue

tue to be wicked, and vice to be good, all are strictly bound in conscience not to believe him nor adhere to him, in such a declaration. Thus I find this difficulty expounded by one of their own writers.

Quest. III. Whether the Pope be such an universal infallible guide, that the whole church depends in an arbitrary manner upon his orders and decisions, so as to be paramount, and superior to general councils?

So high as this, *Bellarmin* seems to carry the Papal supremacy, and there is no being in communion with him, but on these terms. But as to the *Roman* church, which is the subject of my enquiry, there is no assent required to any such doctrine. There is no such doctrine declared, either in the council of *Florence*, or *Trent*; it is not contained in the *profession* of faith, which is offered to all beneficed persons, as a test of their being orthodox in the belief of that church. It is not in their public *catechism*, composed for instructing the people in the faith of their church. The assent to such doctrine is neither imposed,

ed, or demanded of any that are admitted into that communion. And this seems enough to conclude it be no matter of *faith*, but only *opinion*, in which every one is left with the liberty of judging for himself, and consequently, according to our first rule, this question ought not to be insisted on. But however, to give some farther evidence of its being no more than an opinion, I will add, That I find the council of *Pisa* held by many as general, shewed itself in fact, not to be of *Bellarmin's* judgment. Whilst it first deposed *Benedict XIII.* and *Gregory XII.* and afterwards elected *Alexander V.* into their place, which council was by the same *Alexander* twice confirmed. Secondly, That the councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, have expressly in terms declared the supreme power of the church militant under Christ, over all the faithful, even over the Pope himself, to be in general councils, as to defining matters of faith, abolishing schisms, and reforming the church, both in the head and members, and that all persons whatever, and amongst others, the very Pope himself,

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self, is bound to obey, and be subject to their decrees. *Conc. Const. Sess. 4. and 5. Conc. Basil. Sess. 3.* Thirdly, that it has been a practice to appeal from the bulls of divers Popes to a future general council. The university of *Paris* has thus appealed four several times. The emperor *Charles V.* made a like appeal; and several others are recorded by *Richerius Hist. Conc. Constant. p. 259. Edit. Colon. in 4to.* Fourthly, that *Launoïus* has alleged the testimonies of thirty-five Popes, for the superiority of councils over the Pope, *P. I. Ep. ad Hieron. Sam-bavium.* Fifthly, That in the decree of the council of *Florence*, the exercise of the Papal power, whatever it be, is limited, and tied to the observation of œcumenical councils, and the sacred canons, and consequently subjected to them. *Quemadmodum & in gestis œcumenicorum conciliorum, & in sacris canonibus continetur:* which are the words of the said decree. Upon all which it seems plain, that the arbitrary power of the Pope, in his decisions and government of the church, is not a matter of faith, in that

that church: but that as it is maintained by *Bellarmin*, so the contrary is as positively asserted by others of his church, and consequently, that it is only a polemical question, in which every one has the liberty of judging for himself, and therefore by our first rule, not to be made an obstruction to communion. And were the negative part so temerarious and false, as *Bellarmin* censures it, yet since he is censured as severely by others for this his censure; *Veron. Rul. of Faith.* c. 4. Since neither side is any where imposed by that church, still according to our second rule, this question ought not to be insisted on; because whichever side is in an error, yet the communion of the church is so open, that it may be joined with, without professing or giving any assent to such error.

Quest. IV. Whether the Pope has a power over temporals, so as to depose princes, and to absolve their subjects from their allegiance?

So *Bellarmin* asserts, and, under these terms there is no communicating with him: But as to his church, the terms of

communion are very different. For that does not require assent to any such doctrine. It is not in the profession of faith; it has no place in the catechism *ad Parochos*; nor other common catechisms, composed for instructing all in the faith of that church; it is not imposed on any in that communion, and therefore, according to our second rule, though never so erroneous, is not enough to hinder communion.

The proof of all this, *viz.* That the deposing doctrine is no part of the faith of that church, nor imposed on any, seems very evident, from the great numbers, not only of single writers, but likewise of universities in that communion, which allow not of this deposing power, but strongly oppose it, as a doctrine new, and erroneous. Thus it is opposed by the whole *Gallican* church, and was expressly condemned by eight universities in *France*, *An.* 1626, declaring *Santarel-lus's* opinion of the Pope's deposing power, as false, erroneous, contrary to the word of God, pernicious, seditious and detestable. To this add, that the trea-
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tise of *Mariana, de Rege & Regis Institutione*, which speaks too favourably of the deposing power, had been long before censured and burned by the secular authority at *Paris*, and disallowed by decree of the college of *Sorbon*. And as for single writers, that join in opposing the deposing power, a large list of them may be seen collected by a reverend, and most learned bishop of our own church, *Joannes Rossensis. de Potest. Tempor. Pap. l. 2. c. 1.* Where he sets down a great number of canonists, divines, historians, &c. all concurring in the same sentiments, and afterwards concludes in these words; *If we add those numberless numbers of bishops, priests, monks, clerks, people, who notwithstanding all the excommunications, bulls, depositions, privations, curses, interdictions of Popes remained constant, even to blood, and death, in their allegiance to their deposed princes; quam pauci imo quam nulli sunt illi septuaginta Bellarminiani auctores, si cum illis catholicissimis & constantissimis fidelibus conferantur. How few, or rather, how none, will these seventy Bellarminian witnesses appear to be, when com-*

pared with those most catholic, and constant believers, even bishops, who both before and after this controversy began, detested that power or rather tyranny? Out of which without looking farther, it must be confessed that as *Bellarmin*, with many others, asserts the deposing power, so there are far more in the same communion, who positively disown, and even condemn it, without being cast out of the said communion, for holding such doctrine contrary to the Pope's interest; and consequently, that the deposing power being no more than an *opinion* of some in that church, and no matter of faith, there ought to be no breach of communion upon this account, according to our first rule, it being as free for those in that communion to deny the deposing power, as for those that are out of it.

Quest. V. Whether the deposing doctrine being asserted in *Gratian's* decrees, and the canon law, does not make it an article of faith, or oblige all of that communion to assent to it?

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I find *Gratian's* decrees to be the work of a private author, who can claim nothing of faith, as *Veron's Rule of Faith* in terms declares, c. 2. it having likewise many mistakes, as the same *Veron* asserts, and which is farther manifested by *Antonius Augustinus*, archbishop of *Arragon*, in his dialogues *de emendatione Gratiani*. So that the certainty of faith cannot be built on such a foundation. The same is the fate of the whole canon law, in which *Bellarmin* himself acknowledges several errors, *De Rom. Pont.* l. 4. c. 12. And *Canus*, though a great asserter of the canon law, does not only confess, that the being of any position in the canon law, does not conclude it to be a doctrine of faith, but likewise acknowledges, that several decretals therein contained, have been by other succeeding Popes, and upon better advice, repealed, and the quite contrary established. *Loc. Theol.* l. 5. c. 5. in *Resp. ad ult.* § l. 6. If then all such decretals as are in the canon law, are not proposed nor esteemed, as of faith, nor imposed on any in that communion, the contents of them,

according to our first and second rules, are not to obstruct a common union.

Quest. VI. Whether the practice of this doctrine in several Popes, who have deposed emperors and kings, does not prove it to be a doctrine necessarily to be believed by all in that communion?

There is no rule in that church, which obliges the members even to approve, much less believe all that is practised by their Popes. *Bellarmin* himself, who would make the Pope infallible in *cathe-dra*, does not pretend to exempt him from error in *fact*; and as for all the others of that communion, whom we have reckoned above, dissenting from *Bellarmin*, these unanimously declare the Pope to be fallible in all other cases, except when joined with the whole church, and that too with relation to *credenda* only, and not to matters of fact, or matters of discipline, or in framing laws not necessary to salvation. For in these, they say, both Pope, and general councils, may err: And that no national church is obliged to receive what is decreed by such councils, except only as to *credenda*,
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but not as to laws and discipline. And this is, in fact, the practice of that church. Hence it must be owned, that what is decreed, or practised by the Pope, separate from such a general council, is of a much inferior rank, in whatever concerns discipline and practice; and consequently, that there are none obliged to receive, or approve such his practices now mentioned. And therefore there is found no obligation upon those in the Pope's communion, of approving, or assenting to all his holiness does: it is not so much as required of bishops in that *formula* of obedience, which they take at their consecration, neither has it place in any profession of faith. But on the contrary, all in that communion are at liberty of dissenting from such usurpations of the Pope. And accordingly I find the subjects of deposed princes continuing faithful in their allegiance to them after such sentence of deposition pronounced against them, and this both of bishops, priests, monks, clergy and laity, even to the loss of their lives, in asserting the rights of their prince, notwithstanding

all the interdicts of the Popes to the contrary; as has been now evidenced from the testimony of our own learned *Roffensis Contr. Bell.* l. 1. c. 8. and can be from *Caron Remonstr. Hibern. Part* 2. c. 6, 7. Where likewise may be seen a list of several councils of *German, French and Italian* bishops, condemning the deposing doctrine, and even the author of it, *Gregory VII.* Upon which there can be no surprise in what a learned modern (who has made sufficient enquiry into all these matters) declares, *That the deposing doctrine is rather taught by the court, than church of Rome. Regal. p. 163. Ed. 1.* Whence it must be owned whilst in that communion there appears so strong an opposition against the deposing doctrine, and even against all the practice of such Popes, as have acted by it, That neither the doctrine, nor practice are matters of faith in that communion, nor imposed on any, and consequently however erroneous the doctrine, or corrupt the practice be, yet still according to our second rule, this ought not to be made a cause of separation, since there may be communion

munion with that church without professing such errors, or partaking in such sinful practices.

Quest. VII. Whether the deposing of *Frederic II.* Emperor by *Innocent IV.* in the first council of *Lyons*: Or the third canon of the great council of *Lateran*, in favour of the deposing power, be proof of the necessity of this seditious doctrine being abetted by all in communion with that church?

The great numbers of both *clergy* and *laity* in that communion, disapproving, and even in terms, condemning the deposing power, is argument enough, that they do not believe themselves obliged by any thing that passed in the aforesaid councils of *Lyons* or *Lateran* to approve that doctrine to pernicious to all princes. The reasons they give of not being so obliged, are these: First, as to the deposition of *Frederic II.* That that act of deposition was only a *judicial sentence*, in a *particular case* involving many particular matters of fact, of *one* particular person. And that as it is not the doctrine of their church to hold even a general council to be

be infallible in any such meer *judicial sentence*; so their church does no where oblige them even to approve such a *sentence*, much less to take it for a *canon*, or *rule* of their *faith*: and consequently, that in their communion, they are as much at liberty of disapproving what there passed, as those that are out of it. However, therefore, this doctrine be erroneous, yet since being in that communion does not oblige to the professing such an error, as it is evident by matter of fact; hence, according to our second rule, this question, as to the council of *Lyons*, may be laid by, and occasion no difference between us: it being above dispute, that we ourselves cannot more zealously condemn this opinion, than the *Gallican* church does, who besides the doctrine, have utterly exploded the whole volume of the canon law, called *Sextus Decretalium*, when *Boniface VIII.* had inserted that fatal sentence against *Frederic*. And so, as to the third canon of *Lateran*, they do not think themselves obliged to believe, or even approve the deposing doctrine, upon any thing that is there delivered,

vered, and here I set down the reasons they give for this. First, because those Lateran canons are suspected as spurious, as it is owned by our famous *Roffensis. De Pot. Pap. l. i. c. 6.* and by archbishop *Bramhall* in his *Schism Guarded*. Secondly, There is not a word in that canon against Prince or King, or any supreme Lord whatever, but only feudatories. Thirdly, the Fathers in ordering the Pope to depose feudatories, acted on the authority of the supreme temporal lords of the fee, who were present by their embassadors, and were consenting to it, for raising money to carry on the holy war, and for keeping peace in their absence in the Holy Land. Lastly, It is only a canon of discipline, in which *faith* is not concerned, which no nation is obliged to receive; and consequently, which lays no obligation upon conscience to assent to it. It is not my business to examine into these reasons, but matter of fact is proof enough, that they believe themselves no ways obliged in conscience by that canon, since in *Germany* and *France*, they have acted contrary

rary to the deposing sense of it. Whatever, therefore, their reasons be, it is enough for our present purpose, that both clergy and laity, abiding in that communion, condemn the deposing doctrine with all the bad practices; and therefore, since the being of that communion does not oblige any to partake in such errors, or corrupt practices, according to our second rule, such errors and practices, ought not to be made the occasion of disunion.

Quest. VIII. Whether a nation that owns the Pope's authority, can be free from slavery?

I set down the judgment of others relating to this subject: And First, I find an eminent prelate of our own church, archbishop *Bramhall*, relating the fundamental laws of *France*, and the liberties of the *Gallican* church; and as to the civil government, these are some of them:

1. The Pope cannot command, or ordain any thing, directly or indirectly, concerning any temporal affairs within the dominions of the king of *France*.

2. No

2. No command whatsoever of the Pope, can free the *French* clergy from their obligation to obey the commands of their sovereign.

3. The commissions and bulls of the Pope's Legates, are to be seen, examined and approved by the court of parliament, and to be registered and published with such cautions and modifications, as that court shall judge expedient for the good of the kingdom; and to be executed according to the said cautions, and not otherwise.

4. The prelates of the *French* church, (although commanded by the Pope) for what cause soever it be, may not depart out of the kingdom without the King's command or licence.

5. The Pope can neither by himself, nor by his delegates, judge of any thing, which concerns the state, pre-eminence, or privilege of the crown of *France*, nor of any thing pertaining to it. Nor can there be any question, or process about the state, or pretension of the king, but in his own courts.

6. Papal

6. Papal bulls, citations, sentences, excommunications, and the like, are not to be executed in *France*, without the King's command or permission: And after permission, only by authority of the king, and not by the authority of the Pope, to shun confusion, and mixture of jurisdiction.

7. Neither the King, nor his realm, nor his officers can be excommunicated, or interdicted by the Pope, nor his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance.

8. The Pope cannot impose pensions in *France* upon any benefices, having cure of souls; nor upon any others, but according to the canons, according to the express condition of the resignation, or *ad redimendam vexationem*.

9. Ecclesiastical persons may be convicted, judged and sentenced before a secular judge; for the first grievous or enormous crime, or for lesser offences after a relapse, which renders them incorrigible in the eye of the law.

10. All the prelates of *France* are obliged to swear fealty to the King, and to receive

receive from him their investitures for their fees or manors.

He adds several others of the like nature; and by many instances shews in these very words, That the Kings of *France*, with peers, parliaments, ambassadors, schools and universities, have all of them in all ages affronted and curbed the *Roman* court, and reduced them to a right temper and constitution, as often as they deviated from the canons of the fathers, and encroached on the liberties of the *Gallican* church; whereby the Pope's jurisdiction in *France* came to be merely discretionary, at the pleasure of the King. And notwithstanding this, the Kings of *France* are acknowledged by the Popes themselves, to be the most christian, the eldest sons of the church, and protectors of the *Roman* see. So this prelate, *Just. Vindic. of the Ch. of Eng. Disc. 3. ch. 8.*

In the same chapter, he gives as many instances of the *German* emperors in maintaining the rights of the empire, notwithstanding all opposition made against them by the Pope, and sets down the
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protestation of the electoral college; and other princes of the empire, mentioned in their letter sent to Pope *Benedict XII.* viz. That they would maintain, defend, and preserve inviolate, the rights, honours, goods, liberties and customs of the empire, and their own electoral right, belonging to them by law or custom, against all men, of what pre-eminence, dignity, or state soever, notwithstanding any perils, or mandates, or processes whatsoever.

He goes on, shewing the same at large of the King of *Spain*, both as to *Spain*, *Flanders* and *Sicily*, as likewise of the King of *Portugal*, and of the state of *Venice*, all maintaining the rights and liberties of their respective states with as much opposition to the Pope, as to any other invader whatever. He inserts likewise of *England*, in the time of owning the Pope's authority, That the Pope's decrees never had the force of laws here, without the confirmation of the King, witness the decrees of the council of *Late-ran*, as they are called. That the Kings
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of *England* suffered no appeals to *Rome*, out of their kingdoms, no *Roman* Legates to enter into their dominions without their license, and declared the Pope's bulls to be void. And having thus run through all nations, he thus concludes: *We have said enough to shew, That all Christian nations do challenge the right to themselves, to be the last judges of their own liberties and privileges.* And thus gives his opinion in answer to this eighth question; That all nations which own the Pope, are judges of their own liberties, and have on all occasions asserted them with as much freedom against the Pope, as against any other invader.

Hugo Grotius, who spared no pains in informing himself of all these matters in the difference of churches, and therefore is fit to be heard as an evidence, gives likewise his opinion in a few words, as to this point. *The authority*, says he, *of the Roman bishop would not have seemed so formidable to Dr. Hall, that he should therefore cast off all hope of reconciliation, had he known how ready the remedies are in*
France

France and Spain, to restrain the Pope from invading the rights, either of the Kings, or bishops. Judgment of religion, Lond. 1653. A full answer in a few words.

Quest. IX. Whether a national church, that owns the Pope, can maintain its national rights and liberties, without being enslaved by Rome.

Here again we must hear the opinions, or at least the account given by the now mentioned archbishop *Bramhall*, and *Grotius*. The former relating the immunities of the *Gallican* church amongst other articles, sets down these: 1. That the spiritual authority, and power of the Pope, is not absolute in *France*, but limited, and restrained by the canons and rules of the ancient councils of the church, received in that kingdom. Where observe first, That the Pope can do nothing in *France*, as a sovereign spiritual Prince, with his *non obstantes*, either against the canons, or besides the canons. Secondly, That the canons are no canons in *France*, except they be received.

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2. The most Christian King has had power at all times, according to the occurrence, and exigency of affairs, to assemble, or cause to be assembled synods provincial, or national; and therein to treat, not only of such things as concern the conservation of the civil estate; but also of such things as concern ecclesiastical order and discipline in his own dominions, and therein to make rules, laws, ordinances, in his own name, and in his own authority.

3. The Pope cannot send a legate *à latere* into France; with power to reform, judge, collate, dispense, or do such other things, accustomed to be specified in the authoritative bull of his legation, except it be upon the desire, or with the approbation of the most Christian King. Neither can the said legate execute his charge, until he has promised the King in writing, under his oath, upon his holy orders, not to make use of his legantine power, in the King's dominions, longer than it shall please the King. And that so soon as he shall be admonished of the King's pleasure to forbid it,

it, he will give it over. And that whilst he does use it, it shall be exercised conformable to the King's will, without attempting any thing to the prejudice of the decrees of general councils, or the liberties and privileges of the *Gallican* church, and the universities of *France*.

4. All bulls and missives, which came from *Rome* to *France*, are to be seen and visited, to try if there be nothing in them prejudicial in any manner to the estate, and liberties of the church of *France*, or to the royal authority.

5. The courts of parliament, in case of appeals, as from abuse, have right and power to declare null, void, and to revoke the Pope's bulls, and excommunications, and to forbid the execution of them, when they are found contrary to sacred decrees, the liberties of the *French* church, or the prerogative royal.

6. General councils are above the Pope, and may depose him, and put another in his place, and take cognizance of appeals from the Pope.

7. All bishops have their power immediately from Christ, not from the Pope,

Pope, and are equally successors of St. *Peter*, and the other apostles and vicars of Christ.

8. The Pope cannot exempt any church, monastery, or ecclesiastical body, from the jurisdiction of their ordinary, nor erect bishoprics into archbishoprics, nor unite them, nor divide them, without the King's licence.

As to *Germany*, he gives a full relation of the Emperor's calling synods, of reforming innovations by such synods, of reforming the excesses of the *Roman* court, and other ecclesiastical innovations and abuses.

As to the King of *Spain*, he says, That by himself and delegates, whom he substitutes, he judges, and punishes all ecclesiastical crimes, even in cardinals, which inhabit *Sicily*, he suffers no appeals to *Rome*, he admits no *nuncios* from *Rome*. That *Charles V.* an. 1534, renewed an edict of his predecessors at *Madrid*: That bulls, and missives sent from *Rome*, should be visited, to see they contained nothing in them prejudicial to the crown, or church of *Spain*,
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which was strictly observed within the *Spanish* dominions. That *Alexander Castellan* was disgraced, and expelled out of *Spain*, for publishing the Pope's bulls, and that the papal censures were declared void; and that the Pope's delegates have been banished out of that kingdom, for maintaining the privileges of the *Roman* court. The like he relates of *Flanders* and *Venice*.

Then, as to *England*, he says, The Kings of *England* in their great councils did make themselves the last judges of the liberties, and grievances, and necessities of their people, even in cases ecclesiastical; not the Pope. That the Pope could do nothing here, either against the canons, or besides the canons. That the canons are no canons here, except they be received; and then adds, This same privilege was anciently radicated in the fundamental laws of *England*.

Let *Grotius*, in a few words conclude, who in the book cited above, says, That the King of *Great Britain* enjoys no power concerning things, and persons eccle-

ecclesiastical, which the King of *Sicily* hath not also.

Here then, as to these two last questions, though I do not say, that according to our rules, they are, or may be laid aside; yet if we take the opinion of these two great men, who made it their business to examine into this whole matter, and have evidence of *fact* to confirm their opinion, it must be owned, that all those nations, which own the Pope, are provided with sufficient power, and means, to maintain, defend, and secure all rights, liberties and privileges, both of church and state; and that however pretending Popes have taken the advantage of weak and yielding Princes, yet that resolute Princes have again recovered all such rights, and that no such nation need to suffer upon this account, but those that will.

Quest. X. Whether the bishop of *Rome*, as prime patriarch, has power over all churches, or as patriarch of the West, has any right of power over all western churches?

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Having considered so many questions concerning the Pope, there seems to be none, which need to obstruct a catholic communion, but only this. And this according to the articles of our church, we cannot easily subscribe. Now this whole controversy being reduced to one single question, were it not to be wished, that those, in whom the authority of our church is lodged, would upon the motive of a general peace, and healing the wounds of divided Christendom, see, if there be any possible accommodation to be found for this point?

It is certain there is none to be found for that universal, and unlimited supremacy, which some Popes have taken upon them. There is none to be found for those encroachments of the Roman court, and its flatterers, by which they have endeavoured to subject both Princes, and national churches, to their arbitrary power. There is none to be found for that *universal episcopacy* claimed by *John* patriarch of *Constantinople*, and condemned by *Gregory the Great*, as contrary to the gospel, and a scandal

to the universal church. In this sense to oppose the Pope, and his supremacy, must be the interest of all states and churches; and there can be no closing with him herein, since we find not only the whole Gallican church, but likewise many other nations and princes, both with arguments and arms, resolutely opposing this degree of unlimited supremacy, and notwithstanding all the Roman thunder of excommunication and interdicts, have stood their ground, and still been acknowledged, to be in communion with that see; the question is, whether there be any other primacy, or *limited supremacy*, in which for public peace, we may concur, while we oppose that which is unlimited with all the usurpations and encroachments of it.

We find, that King *James I.* owned the Pope to be patriarch of the west, and the church of *Rome* to be our mother. Thus in a public speech to his parliament, *an. 1603.* *I acknowledge,* saith he, *the church of Rome to be our mother church.* And in his premonition to

all Christian monarchs: Patriarchs, I know, were in the time of the primitive church, and I likewise reverence that institution for order sake: And for myself (if that were yet the question) I would with all my heart give my consent that the Bishop of Rome should have the first seat: I being a western King would go with the patriarch of the west. And for his temporal principality over the signiory of Rome, I do not quarrel it neither; let him in God his name be Primus Episcopus inter Omnes Episcopos, and Princeps Episcoporum; so it be no otherwise but as Peter was Princeps Apostolorum. And with respect to this, we might consider what he had there said a little before about the oath of allegiance: The lower house of parliament at the framing of this oath, made it to contain, That the Pope had no power to excommunicate me: which I caused them to reform; only making it to conclude, That no excommunication of the Pope's can warrant my subjects to practise against my person or state; denying the deposition of Kings to be in the Pope's lawful power; as indeed I take any such temporal violence

violence to be far without the limits of such a spiritual power as excommunication is. The same in effect is in, *The due Way of composing the difference on foot, preserving the church; according to the opinion of Herbert Thorndike.*

Now then the great question is, concerning the primacy over all Christendom. And here, since his Majesty was for having the Pope to be as much over all other bishops, as St. Peter was over all the other apostles, let us see how high the church of *England*, has set this superiority of the chief apostle, in the Collect for his day: *O Almighty God, who by thy son Jesus Christ didst give to thy apostle Saint Peter many excellent gifts, and commandedst him earnestly to feed thy flock; make, we beseech thee, all bishops and pastors diligently to preach thy holy word, &c.* Here St. Peter, among many excellent gifts, has his power founded upon those words, *pasce agnos & oves*, as being then particularly commissioned to feed the whole flock of Christ. And it is in due proportion to this, that all other bishops and pastors are to preach. So also in the

gospel for that day, we have *St. Peter's* glorious profession occasioned by our blessed saviour's question put to his apostles, and a gracious *return* thereto: *He saith unto them, but whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art Christ the son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; &c.* Look then into the *Collects* and *Gospels*, for the other apostles, and see whether this *honour* is there given to *St. Paul*, or to *St. James*, or to any else, whom humorists, and fanciful men, have at any time set up to stand in competition with *St. Peter*.

Some learned writers we have, who propose a catholic communion between all Christian bishops of the world, by joining with the bishop of *Rome*, but seem not willing to allow more to him, than a *precedency of order*. *Mr. Thorn-dike*, before named, a learned man of
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our own church, seems to plead for a *pre-eminency of power*, and not only a precedency of rank, having been acknowledged originally in the church of *Rome*. *Epil.* l. 3. c. 20. p. 179. And *Spalatensis* concurs herein. *De Rep. Eccl.* l. 4. c. 9. n. 1. 15. 16. And *Grotius* goes yet farther. It is well known, how industrious he was in examining into the root of all our divisions, how zealous for composing them, and that he had a great advantage above thousands, in proposing means for bringing things to the conclusion of a happy and general peace. This great man thus qualified, in his last work, written not long before his death, makes this positive declaration, that there can be no hopes of uniting protestants, except they are first united with that church, which is in the communion with *Rome*; owning at the same time a kind of authoritative primacy in the Pope, which is the ground of that church's being united, and is no occasion of the separation, that has been made from it. I give his own words.

Restitutionem Christianorum in unum idemq; Corpus, semper optatam a Grotio, sciunt, qui eum norunt. Existimavit autem aliquando, incipi posse a protestantium inter se conjunctione. Postea vidit, id plane fieri nequire; quia, præterquam quod Calvinistarum ingenia ferme omnium ab omni pace sunt alienissima, protestantes nullo inter se communi ecclesiastico regimine sociantur: Quæ causæ sunt, cur facite partes in unum protestantium Corpus Colligi nequeant; immo & cur partes aliæ atque aliæ sint exsurrecturæ. Quare nunc plane ita sentit Grotius, & multi cum ipso, non posse protestantes inter se jungi, nisi simul jungantur cum iis, qui sedi Romanæ cohærent; sine qua nullum sperari potest in ecclesia commune regimen. Ideo optat, ut ea divulsio, quæ evenit, & causæ divulsionis tollantur. Inter eas causas non est primatus episcopi Romani secundum canones, fatente Melanchthone, qui eum primatum etiam necessarium putat ad retinendam unitatem. Close of last Repl. to Rivet. Apol. Discuss. Which in English is thus rendered. "As many as know Grotius, know this of him, that he has always desired that Christians should be again united into one and the same body.

dy. He was once of opinion that this might have been begun, by uniting protestants with one another; afterwards he saw this was impossible, not only because the disposition of the Calvinists is averse to peace, but, for that protestants have no common church-government, in which they are joined; which are the reasons that the several divisions of the protestants can never meet into one body, but still more and more divisions will be made. Wherefore *Grotius* is now absolutely of this judgment, and many others concur with him in the same sentiments, That protestants cannot be united among themselves, except they are united together with those who are in communion with the see of *Rome*. Hence it is his wish, that the separation which has been made, and the causes of separation, were taken away. Amongst these causes, the primacy of the bishop of *Rome*, according to the canons, is not to be reckoned; as *Melanchthon* likewise confesses; who is of opinion, that the primacy is even necessary for preserving of unity." The same he had in part declared before, in his first re-

ply to *Rivet. ad art. 7. Quæ vero est causa, cur qui opinionibus dissident inter catholicos, maneat eodum corpore non rupta communione; contra qui inter protestantes dissident, idem facere nequeant, utcumque multa de dilectione paterna loquantur? Hoc qui rectè expenderit, inveniet quanta sit vis primatus.* “What is the reason, says he, that those among the catholics, who differ in opinion, still remain in the same body, without breaking communion, and those among the protestants, who disagree, cannot do so, however they speak much of brotherly love? Whoever will consider this aright, will find how great is the effect of primacy.”

This we have from *Grotius*, and it was as you see noted even in his legacy to divided Christendom; directing them how their many unhappy schisms are to be healed. In this he owns a primacy in the bishop of *Rome*, and this not of order only, which is little more than honorary, ceremonial, and ineffectual; but such as unites, prevents schisms, is a *commune regimen*, a common government, is according to the canons, and has so much

much authority, that unity cannot be preserved without it. He declares likewise, that such a primacy according to the canons, has been no cause of dividing churches, and at the same time wishes, that all protestants would unite in the acknowledgment of such authoritative primacy; so that it is evident, according to the judgment of this great man, there is such a primacy, which those of the reformation may own, and without which no catholic communion, no general peace of Christendom, can be expected. I might have cited also *Melanchthon* himself in these words: *Quemadmodum sunt aliqui episcopi qui præsunt pluribus ecclesiis, &c.* As certain bishops preside over many churches, so the bishop of *Rome* is president over all bishops. And this canonical policy no wise man, I think, does, or ought to disallow. For the monarchy of the bishop of *Rome*, is in my judgment, profitable to this end, that consent of doctrine may be retained. Wherefore an agreement may easily be established in this article of the Pope's supremacy, if
other

other articles could be agreed upon. *Cent. Epist. Theol. Epist.* 74. Thus great men give their opinions in this matter, in which without proposing any thing, I wish God would inspire all concerned, to enquire into this matter; and laying aside all prejudicial thoughts, resolve upon making use of all expedients of peace, as far as justice and truth will give leave. For certainly, as it has been lately said by a lover of unity, *Whatever lawfully may be done, ought to be done, for the healing of any schism.*

C H A P. III.

Of the Invocation of Saints and Angels.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER the church of Rome teaches those of her communion to forsake Christ, and not to trust in him as their only mediator?

Upon a full enquiry made into this matter, I find those of the church of Rome place their trust and confidence in
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God, and in the mediatorship of Christ, hoping for no salvation, but through the merits of his sacred passion, in the same manner as we do in our church. This may be seen in the ordinary books of devotion, and instruction used by them, and particularly in those books, which having been writ by them, we have reprinted for the common use of all in our church. Such are the *Following of Christ*, or *The Christians Pattern*, by *Thomas a Kempis*: *F. Parson's Directory*, or *Resolutions*: *The Introduction to a Devout Life*: *Devotions after the Ancient Way of Offices*, with others, in which they teach all to put their whole trust in God, through Christ. But this I found most fully delivered in *Roderiguez*, who (*Treat. 3. of Humil. c. 33.*) declares, that all the operations of grace in us, are freely added to us by God, who of objects of wrath, has made us his children. Not moved thereto by any former merits of ours, or in consideration of future services; but by his own pure mercy, and the merits of our only mediator *Jesus Christ*, (these are his words.) Since according to the words of the apostle,

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tle, *We are justified freely by the grace of God, and by the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.* And the same again in their *Catechism ad Parochos*, in which the pastors of that church, are enjoined to instruct their flock in all that belongs to the mysteries of Christ's passion, in the effects and benefits of it to mankind. *Explic. Creed. Art. 4.* which article is thus concluded: I wish these mysteries were daily in our minds, that we may learn to suffer and die, and be buried together with our Lord; that so, all the filth of sin being cast off, we may rise again together with him to a new life, and by his grace and mercy be at length made worthy to partake of his heavenly glory. And in the explication of the Lord's prayer, *Petit. 5. Par. 25.* Wherein the pastor is thus ordered to teach his flock; *That we are not only debtors to God, but also, that we are not capable of discharging our debt; since a sinner of himself is not able to make any satisfaction. Wherefore we must flee to the mercy of God; and because his justice is equal to his mercy, therefore we must make use of the intercession, and patronage of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, without which*

which none has ever obtained pardon of their sins. The same doctrine I find frequently delivered in the council of Trent. Those who are born of Adam, if they were not regenerated in Christ, could never be justified; since that grace, by which they are justified, is given them by the merit of his passion in whom we have redemption, and remission of our sins. Sess. 6. c. 3. And again: Believing in the first place, that by God, the sinner is justified by his grace, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, and turning themselves to consider the mercy of God, they are raised up in hope, confiding that God, through Christ, will be propitious to them, and then begin to love him, as the fountain of all righteousness. c. 6. Again in the first Canon de Justific, is this Anathema pronounced: If any one shall say, that man is justified before God, by his own works, done either by the impulse of nature, or the instruction of the law, without the divine grace, through Jesus Christ, let him be anathema. Many other places have I read of this kind in their own books, so plain and full, that I dare affirm it upon my own knowledge, that in this point there

there is no difference between the two churches, and that those in communion with the Roman church, place as firm a confidence in Christ, and in the merits of his passion, confessing that nothing can be obtained but through him, as those do of the reformation. Segneri, the famous Italian Jesuit, may help to clear this point, who says, That if all the labours, tears, fasts and prayers of all the saints with the Blessed Virgin, and the blood of all the Martyrs were put together, they are not sufficient to satisfy for the least part of a mortal sin, without the blood and passion of Christ. *Penit. Instruct.* p. 133. The charge then of forsaking Christ, as far as I can discover, is, a *consequence* of ours from their calling upon the saints to pray for them, which many of our divines say, they cannot do, but by forsaking, or wronging the mediatorship of Christ. But this being a *consequence, which they expressly disown*, therefore, according to our fourth rule, it is what we ought never to charge upon them, and consequently, it is a question, which ought not to hinder communion.

nion. Now, that they *expressly disown this consequence*, is evident in the council of *Trent. Sess. 25. de Invoc.* Where acknowledging in St. Paul's words, *One mediator between God and Men, Christ Jesus*, they condemn all those, who say, that the invocation of saints is *injurious to the honour of this one mediator*, and expressly enjoin all pastors to teach their flock, *that it is good and profitable to ask the prayers of the saints for obtaining blessings of God, through Jesus Christ his son, our Lord, who alone is our redeemer and saviour.*

Quest. II. Whether there be not many phrases and expressions in their ordinary prayer-books, in which they seem to confide in the saints, and injure the mediatorship of Christ?

The general and most authentic address to the saints is only this, *Pray for us*: And whatever other expressions are found in their books, since they mean no more, as they declare themselves, than to beg the prayers of the saints, and declare their abhorrence of all that is injurious to the mediatorship of Christ, hence the difficulty here comes to no more than
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about *words* and *phrases*: And since, according to our third rule, such quarrels ought not to be advanced, but laid by, by all lovers of peace, hence this question ought not to be made an exception against communion, especially too, since their church obliges none to make use of such books, wherein such expressions are; and therefore being not imposed by the church, according to our second rule, this question is not to obstruct a common peace.

Quest. III. Whether those in communion with the see of *Rome*, do not pray more to the saints, but especially to the *Virgin Mary*, than to God?

I have made a very particular enquiry into this matter, and find, that throughout their whole *Missal* (which is their book of divine service) and *Breviary*, (which is their daily office, or devotion of their priests) there is not one *collect* or *prayer* to any one saint whatever, but every one is expressly directed to God, and all ending with the same conclusion as we have, *Through our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son.* On all *Sundays* in the year, their *Collects* are generally the very same
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with ours; on St. *Michael's* day the *Collect* is the same, and on the *Saints days*, the *Collects* are ever addressed to God, and only begging, that by the prayers and intercessions of the *Saints*, may be granted what they ask, but still concluding their whole petition with their confidence in Jesus Christ, *Through our Lord Jesus Christ*. So that in the solemn worship of the church, at which all are obliged to be present, it cannot be observed, that they directly desire the prayer of any *Saints*, except only in the *Confiteor*, which is very short, and in the *Litanies*, which are said only twice in the whole year; and even then the people are not obliged to be present at them.

Besides these books of solemn or public worship, they have a *private devotion* of the *Rosary*, in which there are ten *Hail Marys* for one *Lord's Prayer*. This is indeed approved, but no where commanded by the church: Nor is it imposed on any ever to say it throughout their whole lives. And even in the direction for such as think fit to say it, I find particular instructions given for per-

performing that devotion, in memory of Christ's incarnation, and of the principal mysteries of his death and passion. But this I undertake not here to justify; it is enough to answer my purpose, that it is not imposed on any by that church: but those who are of that communion, are equally at liberty of never using it, with others, that are out of it: Hence according to our second rule, though it were a corrupt practice, yet it ought not to obstruct communion.

Quest. IV. Whether there be not great abuses in the church of *Rome*, in relation to the Saints, by drawing the people from their due dependence on Christ, and by confiding so much in their intercession, as to neglect the ways of repentance, upon presumption of their prevailing prayers?

It is very likely there are many abuses of this kind; but since these abuses are no where imposed on the members of that church; since they are not approved by her; nay, since she has expressly recommended to the prelates to be

be watchful in taking away all superstition in the invocation of Saints, and other abuses in keeping of their holy-days, *Conc. Tr. Sess. 25. de invoc.* Since the Catechisms, and other books published by authority, mention these very abuses, and condemn them with as much severity as any of our church can possibly do; as may be seen in the *Spiritual Director*, translated from the French, *ch. 24.* And in the Catechism of the *Four French Bishops, Part 6. Art. 2. less. 8.* in which are set down the abuses to be avoided in the invocation of Saints, and in the devotion to the Virgin Mary. Since, I say, the abuses whatever they be of this kind, are disapproved by the authority of that church, and her several pastors, these, according to our second rule, ought not to be made an objection against communion.

Quest. V. Whether it be lawful to desire the Saints in Heaven to pray for us?

In this whole matter of the invocation of Saints, this is the only single point, which wants to be accommodated between

tween the two churches. For this is the only thing the church in communion with *Rome*, has declared in the council of *Trent*. *Bonum atque utile esse, Sanctos una cum Christo regnantes suppliciter invocare.* That it is good and profitable to call upon the Saints.

Now, that this doctrine should be condemned, as it stands under all its abuses, superstitions, and incommodious explications, as *Grotius* terms them; as it is injurious to the mediation of Christ, and gives people a confidence of salvation, without due care for amendment of their sinful lives; that it should be thus condemned, I do not wonder; neither can it be expected, or desired, we should ever close with it, since it would be as easy to renounce all religion, as to approve, and subscribe what is not consistent with the mediation of Christ.

But whatever were, or are the abuses of this practice in the church of *Rome*, since they come so far towards us, as to declare against all such abuses, and enjoin a reformation of them. Since they join with us in holding to the one mediator

diator Jesus Christ. Since they absolutely declare to their people, *That it is absolutely necessary for them to place their whole confidence in Jesus Christ, because as the holy scripture declares, there is no salvation by any other, but through him;* as it is taught in the Catechism of the Four Bishops now cited; since they ask of the Saints in Heaven to become petitioners together with them, as they desire the same of their brethren on earth, and with the same confidence in *Jesus Christ*; knowing that nothing can be obtained by the just in Heaven, or on earth, but through the mediation of his passion. Since I say, this doctrine is proposed with this moderation, and with these restraints, the question is, Whether under these terms, there can be any hopes of accommodating it, upon the consideration of a public peace.

So far I have encouragement, that I find a learned and zealous prelate of our own church, not only favouring, but even approving it, and pleading for it, viz. bishop *Montague* of *Chichester*, and afterwards of *Norwich*.

I. He

1. He owns, that the Saints in heaven pray for the faithful on earth. *I do not deny, says he, but the Saints are mediators, as they are called of prayer, and intercession, but in general, and for all in general. They interpose with God by their supplications, and mediate by their prayers.* Antid. p. 20. I know many others join with him, and in this mediation, expound that article of our Creed, *Communion of Saints.*

2. He owns, that the blessed in heaven, do recommend to God in their prayers, their kindred, friends, and acquaintance on earth. And having given his reasons for this, he inserts this declaration: *This is the common voice with general concurrence, without contradiction of reverend and learned antiquity, for ought I ever could read, or understand: And I see no cause or reason to dissent from them, touching intercession in this kind.* Treat. Invoc. of Saints, p. 103.

3. He owns also, that it is no injury to the mediation of Christ, to ask of the Saints to pray for us. *Indeed I grant, says he, Christ is not wronged in his mediation;*

ation; it is no impiety to say, as they (of the Roman Church) do; *Holy Mary pray for me. Holy Peter pray for me. ib. p. 118.* And going on upon this subject of the Blessed in heaven, in the next page he says, *Could I come at them, or certainly inform them of my state, without any question, or more ado, I would readily, and willingly say, Holy Peter, Blessed Paul, pray for me; recommend my case unto Christ Jesus our Lord. Were they with me, by me, in my kenning, I would run with open arms, and προσκύνῃ, fall upon my knees, and with affection, desire them to pray for me.* And p. 97. *I see no absurdity in nature, no incongruity unto analogy of faith, no repugnancy at all to sacred scripture, much less, impiety, for any man to say, Holy angel guardian, pray for me.*

In these terms this prelate, writing professedly upon this subject, seems to approve this whole doctrine; and the only difficulty he makes in the practice, is because he does not apprehend how the saints shall come to the knowledge of the petitions made to them. But since the holy scripture tells us that

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there is joy in heaven at the conversion of a sinner; which shews that Saints and Angels, though we cannot tell by what means, do certainly know it. Since I find St. *Augustin* (*lib. de Cur. pro Mort. c. 26.*) moving the same difficulty, and confessing it above the reach of his judgment, to know how the martyrs relieve those who call upon them; and yet owning at the same time, that they do certainly assist them, and do intercede for such as call upon them. Since this difficulty did not discourage the practice in his time, of begging their prayers, nor render such practice useless; it may be hoped, notwithstanding the difficulty, there may be means found by those in authority, for accommodating this point at present: And that while so eminent a prelate of our own church, went so far, and justified what he had writ, against all opposers, it may be a motive for removing present objections, that so this point may not be an obstruction to that general peace, which is so much desired.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Of Images.

Quest. I. WHETHER the church of *Rome* teaches those in her communion, to pray to images?

I have fully examined into this point, and find there is no such thing taught by the council of *Trent*, nor in their profession of faith, nor in their Catechisms published for the instruction of the people. On the contrary, the council of *Trent* declares, *There is no divinity nor virtue in the images of Christ, or the Virgin Mary, for which they are to be worshipped; and that nothing is to be asked of them, nor any confidence to be placed in them; as was formerly done by the heathens, who trusted in their idols.* Sess. 25. de *Invoc.* And in their Catechisms I see the question is asked, *Whether Catholics pray to images?* and 'tis positively answered, *No, they do not:* And this reason is added, *Because they neither can see, nor hear, nor help us.* If then any can be supposed so stupid,

as at any time to have done it, yet since that church is so far from teaching it, that she teaches the contrary, therefore this question ought not to be pressed, as any obstruction to the catholic communion.

Quest. II. Whether there be not some expressions in their hymns, and especially those relating to the cross, which import as much as a prayer?

I have seen such expressions, though very few, which being in *hymns*, seem to me no more than poetical liberties; such are usual in *canticles*, and are found in scripture; As *Deut. 32. 1.* where *Moses* speaks to the *heavens* and to the *earth*. And while those in that communion, positively declare, they are no more than figurative expressions, and their church declares, that no images ought to be prayed to, it seems reasonable to expound their hymns by their professed doctrine, and not on the contrary; since no religion, nor book, nor even the scripture, can stand the test, of maintaining all that for professed doctrine, which can be inferred from its
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literal expressions: It being certain in many instances, that the *letter killeth*. But if this be not reason enough for waving this question, yet from our second rule, it ought to be laid by; since that church imposes not the saying those hymns on any of the flock, but they may be all their lives in that communion, without ever once repeating them.

Quest. III. Whether those in communion with the Roman church, are not idolaters in the worshipping of images?

I have strictly enquired into this point, and by all I can observe both in their councils, professions of faith, catechisms, spiritual books, and other books of devotion, I cannot see, but they as firmly believe in one only God, as we do in the church of *England*; and with as much constancy declare, That the honour of God ought not to be given to another. The whole body of their devotions and breviary, is composed of *David's Psalms*; in which is the so frequent confession of one God, and confusion pronounced against all worshipping of idols. Hence they repeat every

week the 97th Psalm, v. 7. in these words: *Confundantur omnes qui adorant sculptilia, & qui gloriantur in simulachris suis. Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols.* Every Sunday at even-song, they repeat *Psalm 115*; in which they profess one God, reproach idols, for being the work of mens hands, for having eyes and seeing not; for having ears and hearing not; and then go on with this verse, *Similes illis fiant, qui faciunt ea, & omnes qui confidunt in eis.* Which in their version is more than ours, even an imprecation or wish, *That all men may become like them, who make them, and put their trust in them.* From all which I must conclude, That all the charge of idolatry, is only a consequence of ours, and such as they expressly disown, I may say abhor, and therefore, according to our fourth rule, ought not to be insisted on as an obstruction to communion; especially, since that church imposes on none the use of any images, but leaves all its members at liberty of using them, if they think fit, or of wholly

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wholly letting them alone, which, according to our second rule, is motive enough for waving this question, since whatever the idolatry be, they oblige none to be guilty of it.

Quest. IV. Whether those in the *Roman* communion, are not taught to honour and worship graven images?

I have with great application examined into this point, and the result of my enquiry is this: I find their council of *Trent*, declares (and 'tis the same in their profession of faith) that *due honour* (or the honour which is due) *and veneration, is to be given to the images of Christ.* This is a very large expression, and cannot well be excepted against, while it approves no more than is *due*. And having considered their several explanations of this *honour*, I find it comes to no more than this; that is, such honour as is generally thought due to all holy things, which have any *eminent*, or *particular relation to God, or to his worship and service*: Such as was due formerly to the ark of the Testament, or to the temple; such as is now judged due to

the name of *Jefus*, to the *Altar*, to the *Books of the Gospels*, to *Holy Vessels*, to the *Sacramental Bread*, to the *Church*, to the *Ministers of the Altar*. Such honour as this, is what, in the *Roman church*, is judged due to the images of Christ. Which being proper for moving pious affections, and raising devotion, are numbered amongst things consecrated to God's service.

As to the honour given to the name of *Jefus*, see *Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions*, an. 1559; where 'tis enjoined, *That whensoever the name of Jefus shall be in any Lesson, Sermon, or otherwise in the church pronounced, due reverence be made of all persons young and old, with lowness of courtesy, and uncovering of heads of the mankind, as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed.* Reinforced by the *canons* under King *James I.* an. 1663. And surely since this pronounced name is the same to the ear, that the image is to the eye, whatever reverence is lawfully given to one, may be as lawfully given to the other.

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Archbishop *Laud* was for reverence, not only *before, and towards*, but *to the altar*; in his *speech* in the *Star-Chamber*, the 14th of *June*, 1637. And it may not be amiss to observe how he there addressed the *Lords of the Garter*: *I hope* saith he, *a poor Priest may worship God with as lowly reverence as you do, since you are bound by your order and by your oath, according to a constitution of Henry the Fifth, (as appears in Libro Nigro Windesorensi) to give due honour and reverence, Domino Deo, & altari ejus, in modum virorum ecclesiasticorum; That is, to the Lord your God, and to his altar; (for there is a reverence due to that too, though such as comes far short of divine worship) and this in the manner, as ecclesiastical persons both worship, and do reverence.* p. 49. Now if this honour may be allowed to the very altar, why not to the *images* of Christ, and in proportion too, to those of Saints?

I must confess, the schoolmen, in explicating this honour, have, by their subtilties, raised several questions, such as perplex, instead of clearing the point:

As, Whether this honour be a religious honour? Whether it be properly adoration, or worship? Whether it be the same that is given to the things represented, or inferior to it, with other like? And these several opinions, have furnished matter for very plausible objections: But when all is considered, the case appears very evident, that all such difficulties and objections so moved, are only disputes about *terms* and *words*, having equal force with relation to all the other holy things, now mentioned, as to the images of Christ. And therefore, I think, without wronging the cause of either side, they may be all laid by, according to our third rule, and not to be made any longer, an objection against a general peace. And for this, I have the famous *Grotius* to strengthen my sentiments. Who speaking of the use of images, concludes thus: *Truly if in this disquisition, ambiguous words, (which by their various acceptation, distract the minds of men) were set aside (namely, invocation, adoration, worship, religion, honour): And if in things themselves, the in-*
different

different were distinguished from the unlawful, there would be fewer seeds of contention. Appendix out of Vote for the church's peace.

Quest. V. Whether there has not been, and are great abuses in relation to images in the church of *Rome*, at least amongst the more ignorant, who seem to place a confidence in them, and believe a thousand ridiculous miracles of them, by which the images become injurious to God?

Grotius was of opinion, that in the use of images, the mean has been exceeded by many. And the council of *Trent* seems to suppose many abuses, and superstitions to have crept in amongst the people, which ought to be reformed. But however, since such abuses and superstitious practices, are so far from being approved, that they are condemned by the said council, and order is given to the prelates of removing all such abuses, and tolerating no sort of images, which can be the occasion of error to the people, and of admitting no sort of miracles to be published, but
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what, upon due examination, they shall approve. *Sess. 25. de Invoc.* Hence by our second rule, this question ought to be cast by, since any one may communicate with that church, without partaking in such sinful practices.

Quest. VI. Whether it be not a superstitious practice still kept up to this Day, in worshipping the cross on *Good Friday*, and kissing it on the knees?

It certainly looks so. But since they positively declare that by this outward action, they intend no more but to express that love and veneration, which is due to the cross, as to other holy things, and to their Redeemer, who on that day died for them; in this sense it comes to be no more than if one should with bended knees in the same manner kiss the book of the Gospel, in acknowledgment and thanksgiving of Christ preaching the Gospel of Salvation. It is no more, than if we should not only bow our body to the holy altar, but fall flat on our faces before his footstool, so soon as ever we come in sight thereof; for in this case, says Dr. Pocklington, what apostle
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or father would condemn us for it, and not rather be delighted to see the Lord so honoured? Sun. no Sab. 'Tis no more, than if being upon Mount *Calvary*, on *Good-Friday*, we should prostrate ourselves, and on our knees kiss the ground where the cross stood. A grateful acknowledgment of faith and love is due to our Redeemer, in a most special manner, on that day of our redemption; and if instead of Mount *Calvary*, we should humble ourselves to the ground, and kiss the cross, so to express this our acknowledgment of love to Christ, I cannot but hope it might be done without being idolatry, however it might look to others, who through ignorance might take exceptions at it. These are the explications given by the *Romanists* of this *Good Friday* ceremony. But I am not concerned in justifying their reasons; 'tis enough for my present purpose, that the performing this ceremony is not enjoined by that church, on the people; and therefore, if the practice be not warrantable, yet since it is not imposed, according to our second rule, this ought not to obstruct communion.

Quest.

Quest. VII. Whether it be not a sinful practice to paint the Trinity, and represent God the Father as an old man; since this must be an occasion of notorious error to the ignorant, in making them believe, that God is corporeal, and has the likeness of his creatures?

The church of *Rome* believes, and teaches the same as we do, as to God; that he is infinite, incorporeal, a pure spirit, and that it is not possible to represent him as he is, under any figure, to human eyes. But as the whole Christian world represents the *Holy Ghost* (though equally a pure spirit with the Father) in the form of a Dove, because in that form he has shewn himself visible to men; so those of the *Roman* church sometimes represent *God the Father*, under the form of an old man, because in this form he was seen by *Daniel* in his vision, *Dan. 7. 9.* where he saw the *Ancient of Days*, sitting on the throne, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool. And for preventing any errors being occasioned in the ignorant by such pictures,
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the council of *Trent* gives exprefs orders to the pastors to teach the people, that they are not to imagine, the Divinity can be expreffed in colours, or any created fimilitude, for that it is wholly invifible to corporeal eyes. And therefore, whatever this practice be, whether warrantable or no, yet fince that church is fo far from propofing it, as injurious to the divinity of God, that it is folicitous to prevent all fuch errors; hence, according to our fecond rule, this queftion may be laid by, and not be made an occafion of obftructing communion.

Queft. VIII. Whether there be any thing in this point of the images of Chrift, and his faints, which may not be reconciled between the two churches?

Whatever fuperftitious practices or abufes there are amongst the ignorant, or others, in this point, cannot be approved; but fince the church of *Rome* approves them not, earneftly defires their reformation, as it is in the council of *Trent*: *Eas prorsus aboleri fancta fynodus vehementer cupit. Seff. 25.* In this the two churches are agreed, and there is

no need of quitting the one, and going to the other, for disapproving and condemning all such abuses and superstitious practices.

But as to the doctrinal point, as it is delivered by the moderate ones of the church of *Rome*, and is sufficient for communion, though our church has never in terms assented to it; yet I find eminent pastors of it allowing it so far, as even the other side requires, and this may be a great step towards the accommodation of it.

1. The historical use of pictures is allowed by all.

2. A religious use of them is allowed by some, as they help to raise our affections, and move our devotion. Bishop *Montague* speaking of holy images, declares his thoughts in these words: Nor are they utterly and absolutely unlawful for any religious employment. Our strictest writers do not condemn or censure St. *Gregory*, for putting upon them that historical use of suggesting unto, moving, or affecting the mind, even in pious and religious affections.

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For instance, in remembering more feelingly, and so being empassioned more effectually with the death, bloodshed, and bitter passion of our Saviour, when we see that history fully and lively represented unto us in colours, or worked by a skilful hand. *Appeal. l. 21.* And Dr. *Pocklington* joins in this with the Bishop.

3. A respect and honour is allowed them by the same prelate. The pictures of Christ, the blessed Virgin, and Saints, may be made, had in houses, set up in churches; the protestants use them; they despight them not. Respect and honour may be given unto them; the protestants do it, and use them for helps of piety, in rememoration, and more effectual representation of the prototype. *Gagger. p. 318.* and *Appeal. c. 21.* In the contents, he says, that images may affect the minds of religious men, by representing unto them the actions of Christ and his Saints: In which regard, says he, all reverence simply cannot be abstracted from them.

Now

Now if this honour can be allowed to be such as is given to holy things, as holy vessels, churches, the book of the gospel, &c. There's no need of more for this point's being accommodated, since this is enough for communicating with the *Roman* church, with a liberty likewise of terming it religious or not religious, as every one shall think best, there being no restraint as to these terms.

CH A P. V.

Of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Real Presence, Transubstantiation.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER the *Romanists* are not idolaters in worshipping the bread and wine?

If they worship the bread and wine as God, and thus require it to be done by all in communion with them, this would certainly be a just motive for not communicating with them or their church. But upon examination, I find their declaration to be unanimous in this point; that however they are taught to worship

worship the sacrament, yet this only is understood of *res sacramenti*, that is, the adoration of Christ in the sacrament. According to what is defined in the council of Trent. *Can. 6. Si quis dixerit in sancto eucharistiæ sacramento Christum unigenitum Dei filium non esse cultu latriæ etiam externo adorandum, anathema sit.* Christ then being solemnly professed by them to be the object of their worship in the eucharist, and not the elements of bread and wine, our charge of idolatry upon them, seems no more, than a consequence of ours from our principles, and not theirs, and such as they disown, I may say detest, and therefore, according to our fourth rule, ought not to be made the occasion of a separate communion.

Quest. II. Whether there be not so many absurdities, and contradictions both to sense and reason, in the doctrine of the real presence, as taught by the Romanists, that it is impossible to be reconciled?

So it certainly seems to many; and yet I do not find, in the judgment of the refor-

reformation, that the belief of the *real presence*, is sufficient cause for separating communion. The *Lutherans* believe a real presence, and yet are protestants; and notwithstanding this their belief, the *Calvinists* in *France*, in a national synod *An. 1631.* declared their union with the *Lutherans*, and admitted them to communion. And by what I observe, even *Calvin* and other great men of the reformation, seem to assert the same doctrine with the church of *Rome*, as to the real presence. *Calvin* upon *1. Cor. 11. 24.* *Take, eat, this is my body,* says thus: *Neque enim mortis tantum, & resurrectionis sue beneficium offert Christus, sed corpus ipsum, in quo passus est, & resurrexit.* Neither does *Christ* offer us the benefit only of his death, and resurrection, but that very body itself, in which he suffered, and rose again. *Beza*, with others, as related by *Hospinian. Hist. Sacram. part. altera, p. 251.* *Fatemur in cæna Domini, non modo omnia Christi beneficia, sed ipsam etiam filij hominis substantiam, ipsam, inquam, veram carnem, & verum illum, sanguinem, quem fudit pro nobis, non significati duntaxat, aut symbolice,*

symbolice, typice, vel figurate proponi, tanquam absentis memoriam; sed vere ac certo representari, exhiberi & applicanda offerri, adjunctis symbolis minime nudis, sed quæ (quod ad Deum ipsum promittentem & offerrentem attinet) semper rem ipsam vere, ac certo conjunctam habeant, sive fidelibus, sive infidelibus proponantur. Ut appareat nos ipsius corporis, & sanguinis Christi præsentiam in cæna retinere, & defendere. Here, they say, the presence is not figurative, or typical, but that the very thing itself is joined with the symbols.

Likewise, I find the doctrine of the real presence in terms asserted by our own church, and the eminent members thereof. Thus what can be more positive and clear, than those words in the *Catechism*, where to the question, *What is the inward part or thing signified?* It is answered, *the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.* Here the *faithful* are the communicants, and they do here participate of the very *body* and *blood*; even in distinction to the *fruits* thereof, which are the subject of
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the next question: *What are the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby?* So also in delivering the sacrament in the *Communion-office*, it is said, *the body of our Lord, &c. and the blood of our Lord, &c.* Nor ought the additional, *take, &c.* to be now thought any abatement of the *verity* of the thing, unless we condemn the leaving it out in the new *liturgy* made for the church of *Scotland*, and authorized by his Majesty, *anno 1636.*

Queen *Elizabeth* was so fixed upon the real presence, that she suffered not her faith to be shocked therein. She determined the case in these following verses:

*'Twas God the Word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe and take it.*

And in her reign, Mr. *Hooker* in his *Eccl. Pol.* l. 5. said, the different opinions of the sacrament thus far accord in one, that these holy mysteries received in due manner, do instrumentally both make us partakers of the grace of that body and blood, which were given for the

the life of the world; and besides also impart unto us, even in a true, and real, though myſtical manner, the very perſon of our Lord himſelf, whole, perfect and entire.

What King *James I.* and biſhop *Andrews* believed in this point, may be ſeen in the *Answer* to Card. *Bellarmin's* Apology, c. 1. *De hoc eſt, fide firma tenemus, quod ſit. Præſentiam, inquam, credimus, nec minus quam vos, veram.* We believe a true preſence as much as you. And we have the ſame in *Casaubon's* Letter, written alſo by the King's command to Card. *Perron*.

Biſhop *Montague's Appeal* may be next ſeen, chapter 30. The contents of which is thus: A real preſence maintained by us. The difference betwixt us, and popiſh writers, is only about the *modus* of Chriſt's preſence in the bleſſed ſacrament. Agreement is likely to be made, but for the factions and unquiet ſpirits on both ſides. *Beati Pacifici.* And in the body of the Chapter, he ſpeaks thus to the informers his adverſaries: The *real preſence* in your divinity
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is flat popery, but not in the divinity of the church of *England*. Concerning this point I said, and I say so still, that if men were disposed as they ought, unto peace, there need be no difference. And I added a reason, which I repeat again here: The disagreement is only in *de modo presentiae*. The thing is yielded to on either side, that there is in the holy eucharist a real presence. God forbid, saith bishop *Bilson*, we should deny, that the flesh and blood of Christ are truly present, and truly received of the faithful at the Lord's table. It is the doctrine that we teach others, and comfort ourselves withal. And the reverend and learned answerer unto *Bellarmin's* Apology cometh home to the faith, or popery if you will, condemned in *M. Montague*, who learnt it of him, and such as he is. *Nobis vobiscum de objecto convenit, de modo lis est. Præsentiam, inquam, credimus, non minus quam vos, veram; de modo presentiae nil temere definimus.* And to them agreeth bishop *Morton*. The question is not concerning a real presence, which protestants do also profess.

fefs. *Fortunatus* a protestant holding that Christ is in the sacrament most really, *verissime realissimeque* are his words. In these words does bishop *Montague* declare, and defend his belief of the real presence.

Archbishop *Laud*, besides what was noted from him before, out of his *speech* in the Star-chamber, gives there also this reason drawn from the real presence, for *reverence* to the altar, as being upon this account the greatest place of God's residence upon earth. I say, saith he, the greatest, yea greater than the *pulpit*. For there it is *hoc est corpus meum*, this is my body. But in the *pulpit*, it is at most but *hoc est verbum meum*, this is my word. And a greater reverence (no doubt) is due to the *body*, than to the *word* of our Lord. And so in relation, answerably to the *throne*, where his *body* is usually present, than to the *seat*, whence his *word* useth to be proclaimed. p. 47. And elsewhere in his *Confer. with Fisher*. §. 35. n. 6. punct. 4. he quotes bishop *Ridley's* confession set down by *Fox*. p. 1598. in those words: You (the papists) and I
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agree in this, that in the sacrament is the very true and *natural* body and blood of *Jesus Christ*, even that which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, which ascended into Heaven; which sits on the right hand of God the Father, &c. only we differ in the way and manner of being there. Add to these bishop *Ken's* Exposition, licensed 1685. O God incarnate, how thou canst give us thy flesh to eat, and thy blood to drink; how thy flesh is meat indeed; how thou, who art in heaven art present on the altar, I can by no means explain, but I firmly believe it all, because thou hast said it, and I firmly rely on thy love, and on thy omnipotence, to make good thy word, though the manner of doing it, I cannot comprehend.

SECT. I.

Of the Adoration of Christ in the Eucharist.

FOR explication of this belief of Christ's real presence, some go so far, as
to

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to declare, that he ought to be adored in the eucharist.

Bishop *Andrews*, as above, *ch. 8. p. 194.* *Rex Christum in eucharistia vere præsentem, vere & adorandum statuit.* And, *Nos vero in mysterijs carnem Christi adoramus cum Ambrosio, &c.* The king (he speaks of King *James I.*) acknowledges Christ to be truly present, and truly to be adored in the eucharist. I also with *St. Ambrose*, adore the flesh of Christ in the mysteries.

Bishop *Forbes de Eucharistia, l. 2. c. 2. § 9.* *An Christus in eucharistia sit adorandus, protestantes saniores non dubitant. In sumptione enim eucharistiæ adorandus est Christus vera latria.* And, § 8. *Immanis est rigidorum protestantium error, qui negant Christum in eucharistia esse adorandum, nisi adoratione interna & mentali, non autem, externo aliquo ritu adorativo, ut in geniculatione, aut aliquo alio consimili corporis situ; hi fere omnes male de præsentia Christi Domini in sacramento, miro sed vero modo, præsentis, sentiunt.* The sounder protestants, make no doubt of adoring Christ in the eucharist. For in receiving the eucha-

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rist, Christ is to be adored with true *Latria*. It is a monstrous error of the rigid protestants, who deny that Christ is to be adored in the eucharist, except only with an inward adoration of the mind, but not with any outward act of adoration; as kneeling, or other like posture of the body. All these do not believe aright of the presence of Christ in the sacrament; present there, after a wonderful, but real manner.

Mr. *Thorndike*, *Epil.* l. 3. c. 30. p. 350. I suppose, says he, the body and blood of Christ may be adored, wheresoever they are; and must be adored by a good christian, where the custom of the church, which a christian is obliged to communicate with, requires it. And is not the presence thereof in the sacrament of the eucharist, a just occasion presently to express by that bodily act of adoration, that inward honour, which we always carry towards our Lord Christ, as God? p. 351. Not to baulk that freedom, says he, which hath carried me to publish all this; I do believe that it was so practised, and done in the antient church,

church, and in the symbols, before receiving: which I maintain from the beginning, to have been the true church of Christ, obliging all to conform to it, in all things within the power of it.

The last *rubric* at the communion service, against adoration, needs not give any trouble herein; since it was there added, after the whole *book* had passed the *convocation*. And besides, it is not there said, that no *adoration* is intended, or ought to be done unto any *real* and *essential* presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood (as it was in King *Edward's* second liturgy, and therefore left out under Queen *Elizabeth*, and onwards till 1662), but it is unto any *corporal* presence. Which alters the case, and may, with those other words, the very *natural substances*, and the *natural body and blood*, and with the *reasons* there given thereof, be better considered.

SECT. II.

Of the Manner of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist.

AS for the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, I find both those of our own church, and the church of *Rome*, agree in terms, that it is ineffable, incomprehensible, above our reason, and a mystery of faith not to be discussed by reason.

Bishop *Laud*, *loc. cit.* says of *Bellarmin*, If the cardinal had affirmed only Christ's real presence there, after a mysterious and ineffable manner, no man could have spoken better.

Bishop *Forbes*, *de Euch.* l. 3. c. 1. § 10. speaking of Christ present in the eucharist, expresses it thus: *In sacra mensa modo ineffabili præsentem*: Present on the holy table, in an ineffable manner.

Bishop *Andrews*, *loc. cit. de modo præsentia, nec anxie inquiramus; inter mysteria ducimus; debet fide adorari, non ratione discuti.* Of the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, let us not solicitously enquire.

enquire. We reckon it amongst mysteries. It is to be adored by faith, not discussed by reason.

I must add bishop *Cousin's Hist. Transubst.* p. 36. § 5. n. 4. *Nos vero hunc modum, &c.* We confess with the holy fathers, that the manner is ineffable and unsearchable, that is, not to be enquired and searched into by reason, but to be believed by faith alone. For although it seems incredible, that in so great a distance of place, Christ's flesh should come to us, to become our food; yet we must remember, how much the power of the Holy Spirit is above our understanding, and how foolish it is to measure his immensity by our capacity. But what our understanding comprehends not, let faith conceive.

With whom take *Calvin, Inst.* l. 4. c. 17. § 24. *Ego hoc mysterium minime rationis humanæ modo metior, vel naturæ legibus subjicio.* § 32. *Porro de modo, si quis me interroget, fateri non pudebit, sublimius esse arcanum, quam ut vel meo ingenio comprehendere, vel enarrari verbis queat.* § 25. *Captivas tenemus mentes nostras, ne verbulo*

duntaxat obstrepere audeant. I do not measure this mystery by human reason, nor subject it to the laws of nature. For if any ask of me concerning the manner, I will not be ashamed to confess, that it is a mystery too high for me either to comprehend in thought, or express in words. We captivate our minds, and suffer them not to mutter one word.

The *Gallican confession* : *Hoc mysterium.* This mystery is so high, that it is above all our understanding, and the order of nature.

Hear now some of the other side, and observe whether they do not express themselves almost in the same terms.

Lanfranc, in his answer to *Berengarius* : *Si quæris modum, quo id fieri possit : Brevis ad præsens respondeo ; mysterium est fidei : Credi salubiter potest, vestigari utiliter non potest.* If you enquire after the manner, in which this can be done, I answer in short : It is a mystery of faith : it may safely be believed, but it cannot safely be searched into.

Dr. Holden : *Verum & Reale.* We profess the true and real body of Christ
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to be in the sacrament, after an invisible manner, wholly unknown us. *Fatemur hujusmodi supernaturalis conversionis substantialis modum nos penitus latere.* We confess the manner of this supernatural change, is wholly hid from us. *De Resol. Fid. l. 2. c. 4.*

The council of *Trent*, *Sess. 13. c. 1.* Christ's substance is sacramentally present in many other places, according to another manner of existence; which though we can hardly express in words, yet we can conceive in thought enlightened by faith, that it is not impossible to God.

S E C T. III.

Something more Particular, as to the Manner.

IF I find a more particular explication of the manner of Christ's body being present in the eucharist; and delivered on both sides alike; it is this: That Christ's body is truly and really present in the eucharist; but as to the manner of its being, it is not corporeal, or after the

manner of a *body*, but spiritual, that is, in the way of a *spirit*.

Hear how it is expressed by some divines of the Romanists. *Holden*, p. 316. *Verum, & reale Corpus Christi profiteamur esse in hoc Sacramento: Non more corporeo, & passibili, sed spirituali, & invisibili.* We profess the true and real body of Christ, to be in the sacrament: Not in a corporeal and passible manner, but spiritual and invisible.

Likewise *Veron*, *Rule of Faith*, c. 5. having declared the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, thus expounds the manner of his existence. We may also say, that Jesus Christ, according to his manner of being in the sacrament, is as a *spirit*, and that he is there *spiritually*, that is, according to the nature of a spirit. *John* 6. 63. *The words that I speak unto you are spirit and life*, without being seen, without extension of parts, neither thick nor big as to the occupation of place, for spirits in their substances, are thus truly said to be in places: In fine, that the body of Jesus Christ is here spiritual and not sensual; since *St. Paul* avers the same of our bodies, after the resur-

resurrection ; *it is sown a natural body, it will rise a spiritual.* 1 Cor. 15. 44. to wit in quality, which shall be quite different, and yet the substance of the body not to perish. Thus *Veron.*

Now hear the same on our side delivered by the eminent Bishop *Taylor* on this Subject §. 1. n. 11. p. 18. It is enquired, (says he) whether when we say, we believe Christ's body to be really in the sacrament, we mean that body, that flesh, that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that was crucified, dead, and buried. I answer, I know none else, that he had, or hath : there is but one body of Christ natural and glorified ; but he that saith, that body is glorified, which was crucified, says, it is the same body, but not after the same manner ; and so it is in the sacrament. We eat, and drink the body and blood of Christ, that was broken, and poured forth ; for there is no other body, no other blood of Christ ; but though it is the same we eat and drink, yet it is in another manner. And therefore, when any of the Protestant divines, or any of the fathers deny, that body, which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that was crucified,

fied, to be eaten in the sacrament, as *Bertram*, as *St. Hierom*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* expressly affirm; the meaning is easy; they intend, that it is not eaten in a natural sense: And then calling it *Corpus Spirituale*, the word *spirituale* is not a substantial predicate, but is an affirmation of the manner; though in disputation, it be made the predicate of a proposition, and the opposite member of a distinction. That body which was crucified, is not that body that is eaten in the sacrament, if the intention of the proposition be to speak of the eating it in the same manner of being: But that body which was crucified, the same body we do eat, if the intention be to speak of the same thing in several manners of being, and operating; and this I noted, that we may not be prejudiced by words, when the notion is certain and easy. And thus far is the sense of our doctrine in this article. Again § 12. p. 288. They that do not confess the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour, which flesh suffered for us, let them be anathema.

Bishop Forbes de Eucharistia, l. 1. c. 1.
 § 7. The doctrine of those protestants,
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says he, seems most safe, and true, who are of opinion, nay most firmly believe, the body and blood of Christ to be truly, and really, and substantially present in the eucharist, and to be received by the faithful; but that the manner of his being there, is incomprehensible in respect of human reason, and ineffable is known to God, and not revealed in the scriptures.

But as we have seen some above explaining the *manner*, in the common way of the *schools*; there are others of both sides, who explain it, upon other principles, by a consideration of the daily change of the bread we live upon, into our bodies; with this *difference*, that the one is effected by the long way of eating and digesting it, whereas the other is *suddenly* done, by the powerful operation of the Holy Ghost, with the words of consecration. To which they seem to have been lead, among others, by St. Gregory Nyssen, who to make us more capable of this mystery, exemplifies in the change of the bread which Christ did eat, into his own flesh; and whom they under-

understand to tell us, that as the bread which God gives a blessing to, does become our body, insomuch that one might accordingly, in some sense be said to be the other; so here this bread is sanctified, and made the body of Christ, not by the usual process, or way of *manducation*, but by being immediately changed into the body of the Word, as soon as it is said, This is my body. *Ut enim illic Dei gratia sanctum efficit illud corpus cujus firmamentum ex pane constabat, & ipsum etiam quodammodo panis erat, sic etiam hic panis per verbum Dei & orationem sanctificatur; non quia comeditur, eo progrediens ut Verbi corpus evadat, sed statim per verbum in corpus mutatur, ut dictum est a verbo, Hoc est corpus meum. Orat. Cat. 37. S. Cyril of Jerusalem, had before declared, that our senses are not judges in this case. With all assurance (saith he) receive the body and blood of Christ; for under the form of bread, the body is given to thee, and under the form of wine, his blood is given to thee. And again: Thou must not consider it as bare bread and wine, for it is the body and blood of Christ, according to our Lord's own words;*

words; for though thy sense make thee think thus, yet faith must confirm thee, that thou judge not the thing according to the taste. And again: Know, and be most assured, that this bread which we see, is not bread, though the taste think it bread, but it is the body of Christ; and the wine which we see, though to the taste it seems wine, yet it is not wine, but the blood of Christ. Cat. 4. Myst. But now for the philosophy of all this, see the great Descartes. First, in his *responsio ad quartas objectiones*, where the *species* are accounted for, by the remaining *superficies*, which only does sensibly affect us. Nor need this trouble us, since it often happens, that things appear otherwise than they are. Next, in what we find in his *Life*, written in French, Liv. 8. Chap. 9. where, from his letters to F. Mesland, we have this account of the Change made in the B. sacrament: that, *Au lieu ques les particules du pain, &c.* Whereas the particles of bread and wine should be mingled with the blood of Jesus Christ, and there disposed in a particular manner, that his soul might particularly inform them, it does here inform them without that

that by force of the words of consecration. And whereas the soul of Jesus Christ could not continue naturally joined with each of these particles of bread and wine, were they not accompanied with many others, which compose all the organs of a human body necessary to life; it continues joined supernaturally to each of them, though they be separated. The new disposition here required for the reception of the soul, does argue the change of the elements. But in the same chapter, we may also see, how this explication has been approved by several great men at *Paris*, *Louvain*, and elsewhere; which is here mentioned to shew the liberty they take about the *Modus*, while they do all at the same time, agree in the thing.

SECTION IV.

Of Transubstantiation.

HITHERTO we have proceeded with consent, about the explication of the manner thereof. But the great point is still to be examined. And here First, it is to be considered, whether *Transubstantiation* be the *mode*, or the *thing* itself, and

and what stress is to be laid upon the word. For which let us consult Dr. Parker, late bishop of Oxford, in his *reasons for abrogating the test*: I know (saith he) it is commonly said, that the council of Trent hath presumed to define the *modus*; and learned men (I know not by what fatal oversight) take it upon trust one from another; and the definition is generally given in these terms: That transubstantiation is wrought by the *annihilation* of the *substance* of the bread and wine, the *accidents* remaining: To the which annihilation succeeds the body and blood of Christ, under the accidents of bread and wine. So the bishops of Durham and Winchester represent it; so Mr. Alix, and the writers of his church. But I cannot but wonder how so many learned men should with so much assurance fancy to themselves such a definition in the Trent Council, of the *Modus* of transubstantiation, by the *annihilation* of the *substance*, and the *permanency* of the *accidents*, when the fathers of that council were so far from any such design, that they

they designed nothing more carefully, than to avoid all scholastic definitions. P. 23. 24. And a little after: This is the *definition* of the council of *Trent*, of the *real presence*, that there is a *conversion* of the *substances* under the species and appearances of bread and wine, which the church hath thought convenient to express by the word transubstantiation. And yet though the council approve the word, yet it does not impose it, it only declares it to be *convenient*, [*fit and proper*] but no where says it is *necessary*. Page 27. And again: Though perhaps all the fathers of the council believed the reality of the new substantial presence under the old accidents, yet they had more temper and discretion than to authorise it by conciliar determination, and therefore use only the word *species* (and no other word is used by *Nicholas II.* *Gregory VII.* and *Innocent III.* that are thought the three great innovators in the argument of the *real presence*) that properly signifies appearance, but nothing of physical or natural reality, so that though
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the presence under the species be *real*, yet as the council hath defined it, it is not *natural* but *sacramental*, which *sacramental real presence* they express by the word *transubstantiation*, and recommend the propriety of the word to the acceptance of christendom. Page 27, 28.

Next then, I shall take the *thing* itself, as I find it delivered by the church of *Rome*, and then shall see, how near we can come to it.

By the thing understood by transubstantiation is meant in the church of *Rome*, a *change* of the substances of the bread and wine, into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. And this as the council of *Trent* says, has been always the doctrine of that church, though first solemnly declared in the council of *Lateran*. Sess. 13. c. 4.

They confess, that the *word* is not any where in scripture. But they say, the *sense* and full meaning of it, by necessary consequence at least, is delivered in the gospel, and therefore certainly and necessarily true. And thus they explain them;

themselves: Christ said it was his body, which he gave under the species of bread. If it was really, and indeed his body, then say they, it cannot be bread: Because that which is bread, cannot be really, and indeed the true and real body of Christ. Therefore that which was really bread, is not now bread, after the consecration, but is by the divine power, (which can change one thing into another) become the true body of Christ. And this is what is called a conversion, or change: And being not made in the outward accidents or appearance (which are still the same) but only in the substance, which is invisible, therefore they have framed a new word to express it, viz. transubstantiation. They clear this by an example.

As at the marriage-feast of *Cana*, that, which was truly water, is by the power of Christ, made true and real wine: And it being now absolutely true, that *This is wine*, it is no longer true, *This is water*; but that which was truly water, is now *not water*, but *wine*. So they understand

derstand in this mystery, as to the substance: That, which *was truly bread*, is now *truly and really the body of our Lord*. Therefore if it be owned absolutely true, after consecration (as has been already shewn) that, *This is my body*, it is not now *truly bread*; but that, which was bread, is now made to be *truly and really the body of Christ*. As therefore, at *Cana*, he made the water wine, as it is said, *John 4. 46.* so at his last supper, he made bread his body. So that, according to their sentiments, they believe nothing more, than what the express words of Christ oblige them to. And this the great *Lateran* council declared when this question was first debated, six hundred years ago, and asserted, that in this sense it had been delivered to them from the primitive church; and accordingly quote many testimonies of the antient fathers, seeming to concur in this very doctrine: Thus they.

Now as to our side of the church of *England*. I find some in the first place, owning the possibility of transubstantiation.

tion. As bishop *Forbes*, who thus delivers himself upon this subject. *De Eucharistia*, l. 1. c. 2. Many protestants, (says he) too boldly and dangerously deny that God has power to transubstantiate the bread into the body of Christ. It is true, all own, that what implies a contradiction, cannot be done. But because, in particular, no body certainly knows what is the essence of every thing, and consequently what implies a contradiction, and what not; it is without question, a rashness in any, to put limits to God's power. I approve the opinion of the divines of *Wittemberg*, who assert the power of God to be so great, that he can change the substance of the bread and wine, into the body and blood of Christ.

Mr. Thorndike owns a change in fact. *Epil.* l. 3. c. 5. where he says, The elements are really changed from ordinary bread and wine, into the body and blood of Christ, mystically present, as in a sacrament; and that in virtue of the consecration, not by the faith of him that receives.

Bishop

Bishop Montague, *Appeal*. c. 31. asserts in the contents, that the consecration of the elements causeth a change. And in the body of the chapter, cites several of the primitive fathers, owning the same: As St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 5. *Precamur Deum hominum amantem, ut emittat sanctum suum spiritum in res propositas, ut faciat panem Corpus Christi, & vinum Sanguinem Christi.* For, *Quicquid contigerit Spiritus Sanctus, illud ipsum ἁγιάσαι καὶ μεταβάλλειν*, says St. Basil in his *liturgy*. We beseech God, the lover of men, to send forth his holy spirit upon the things proposed, that he would make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ. For whatever the Holy Ghost touches, that thing is sanctified and changed. St. Cyprian, *Iste panis, quem discipulis suis porrigebat, non effigie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro. Et sicut in persona Christi, humanitas videbatur, latebat divinitas; ita sacramento visibili, invisibiliter divina se infundit substantia.* That bread which our Lord gave to his disciples, not changed in outward form, but in nature, by the almighty power of the Word

Word, was made flesh. And as in the person of Christ, his humanity was seen, and his divinity was hid; so in the visible sacrament, the divine substance invisibly infuses itself. *St. Ambrose*: Before consecration it was bread, common bread, but after consecration, it becometh the flesh of Christ, because then the sacrament is consummate. And the same father; *Forte dices, meus panis est usitatus; sed panis iste, ante verba sacramentorum, panis est; ubi accesserit consecratio de pane fit Caro Christi*. Perhaps you will say, my bread is common bread; but this bread before the sacramental words, is bread, but when it is consecrated, of bread it is made the flesh of Christ.

Then he remarks how this change is termed by the antient fathers. *St. Cyril* asserting in this mystery *μεταβολή*. *Theophylact*, *μεταποίησις*. *Gregory Nyssen*, *μετασχηματισμός*. *St. Chrysostom*, *μετασχειωσις*; and the bishop after this, calling it a *transmutation*, and *transfementation*. But however, though this prelate goes so far in confessing a change upon consecration, and that it has been so believed by the primitive church,

church, yet he is not for *transubstantiation*, but positively declares against it.

The bishop of *Oxford* before mentioned, should here also be heard, in what he says to this point, in his *reasons* against the *test*: It is evident (saith he) to all men that are but ordinarily conversant in ecclesiastical learning, that the antient fathers, from age to age, asserted the *real* and *substantial* presence, in very high and expressive terms. The *Greeks* stiled it, *Μεταβολή, μεταρρίθμισις, μετασκεινισμὸς, μεταποίησις, μετασχηματισμὸς*. And the *Latins* agreeable with the *Greeks*, *conversion, transmutation, transformation, transfiguration, transelementation*, and at length, *transubstantiation*: By all which, they expressed nothing more nor less, than the *real* and *substantial* presence in the eucharist, *pag. 13*. And afterwards: In the *Greek* form (saith he) of consecration, this prayer was used: *Make this bread the precious body of thy Christ; and that which is in this cup, the precious blood of thy Christ; changing them by thy Holy Spirit*: Which words are taken out of the liturgies of *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Basil*. And *Jeremias*, the learned *Patriarch of Constantinople*, in his declara-

tion of the faith of the *Greek* church, in answer to the *Lutheran* divines, affirms, *That the catholic church believes, that after the consecration, the bread is changed into the very body of Christ, and the wine into the very blood, by the Holy Spirit*, p. 33. And having both before and after this, given the judgment of foreign churches, he concludes thus: This is the account of this controversy, in all foreign churches. All parties of Christendom, agree in the *substance* of the doctrine, even the *Calvinists* themselves; who, though they sometimes attempted to deny it, had not confidence enough to be steady to their own opinion, but were often forced to submit it to the consent of Christendom, p. 46. And a little after: As for the church (saith he) of *England*, she agrees with the tradition of the *catholic* church, in asserting the *certainty* of the *real presence*, and the *uncertainty* of the *manner* of it: Though the true account of it hath been miserably perplexed, and disturbed by the oblique practices of the *Sacramentarians*, p. 47.

I have been large in the citations from my authors, to shew, how far has been taught

taught and believed in our church, and how far may still be believed in her communion. And to sum up, now in a few words, what concessions have been made within her pale, they are these, *viz.* That Christ is not only figuratively in the sacrament, but his body is truly and really present; the same body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and crucified: That the manner of his being in the sacrament, is wonderful, and almost wholly ineffable; not to be fully comprehended by human reason: That Christ is so present in the eucharist, that he may, and ought to be there adored. That this his presence, is effected by a change, or conversion wrought by an almighty power, in virtue of the words of consecration.

So far has been taught by our own prelates, and may still be believed within our communion; and the very same is taught by the church of *Rome*: So that none will be questioned in that church, of not being orthodox, as to this point, who makes this profession.

And why then may there not be hopes of accommodation in this grand point,

when that, which is a sufficient profession to be admitted into one communion, is taught and allowed in the other? Private persons and even pastors, who thus believe and teach, are not cast out of our communion on this account: And why then should we separate communion from a church upon the same?

It is true, that transubstantiation has occasioned great heats; but may there not be here some hopes of peace? It is pity a piece of logic should divide churches, and disturb the world. For my part, upon a serious perusal of the council of *Trent*, and their best divines, I can discover nothing more in it. Divines on both sides eminent, agree, *Hoc est corpus meum: This is my body*: allowing the real presence of Christ's true body, for verifying the proposition. We agree about the *Hoc est*, says bishop *Andrews*: This is the substantial point; in this then is an agreement about the presence of Christ. Now the *Romanists* go on, and say, that for verifying the proposition, *Hoc est, Corpus meum*, we must believe farther: For the proposition (say they) asserting, *This is my body*, cannot be

be true, in the sense as now agreed on, except it be his body ; and if it be *his body*, then *it is not bread* ; but that, which was bread is made his body ; and this is all their transubstantiation. Now what is this but a piece of logic, even a dispute of what is required to the verifying a proposition ? It is true, besides the logic, they say, it is a truth they have so received from the primitive church, and therefore upon this head, are bound not to depart from it ; but as to us, those amongst us, who confess a real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and confess it so, as to declare, there is no difference between the two churches in this point, these I say, seem to offer fair for compounding all the rest. For whilst they in this own the subject of this mystery to be above the laws of nature, to be above the reach of reason, that it is wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost, that it is the effect of an Almighty Power, and assert this from antiquity, do not they here surrender the whole cause out of the hands of reason, and submit entirely to faith, and having

advanced so far, what can be the objections, after this, from natural philosophy, or logic, in a point already confessed to be above their enquiry?

Thus from these concessions of our own learned prelates, I raise hopes of peace, and am confirmed in my hopes by the learned *Grotius*; who, having duly weighed this whole matter, says, First, it is the explications of schoolmen create the offence that is taken against the word *transubstantiation*, which explications, we may lay by. Secondly, he joins with our prelates as to the chief point, declaring in these words: *The fathers, and very many protestants do affirm it for certain, that together with the signs, the thing itself is exhibited; but in a manner that is not perceptible by the external senses.* And then lastly makes this conclusion, upon the whole question in debate: *To speak my heart, says he, I think that many disputers do understand well enough the sense of the antient church, and of the present Greek and Latin: but they dissemble it, that they may have matter to de-claim upon, among those that make more use*
of

of their outward senses than their inward. Here is *Grotius's* judgment in this great point as set down in a small collection in English, translated out of his *Vote*, for peace, p. 92. *Of transubstantiation.* And while he, upon so strict a search, and such mature deliberation thus pronounces, may it not be hoped, that the love of peace and compassion to divided Christendom will influence so strongly some pious breasts, as not to let school opinions, and the love of wrangling, keep up those heats, which inflame the world, and consume religion under the notion of refining it?

S E C T. V.

Of the Mass.

BY this word *Mass*, which was used by *St. Ambrose*, and also in the first liturgy of King *Edward VI.* I find the Romanists mean no more, than the performing, as to this point, that which Christ did at his last supper, when he gave his apostles, and by them to their

successors, power of consecrating the bread and wine, into the body and blood of Christ, and commanded them to do what he had there done, in remembrance of his death and passion on the cross. Now while Christ is here offered in testimony of God, being the Sovereign Lord of life and death, they call this offering a *sacrifice*: And Christ being here offered under the forms of bread and wine, therefore they term it an *unbloody sacrifice*: And this being done in remembrance of Christ being offered for our sins, a sacrifice on the cross, hence they call it a *commemorative sacrifice*: And while the virtue of Christ's passion, is applied to Christians by means of this offering, as it is likewise by acts of faith, of prayer, and contrition; which are therefore truly *propitiatory*; hence they declare this offering to be *propitiatory*. This is the explication given by them, conformable to what is delivered upon this point in the council of *Trent. Sess. 22. c. 1.*

The substance of this doctrine, I find delivered by Mr. *Thorndike, Epil. 1. 3.*

c. 5.

c. 5. p. 44, where having maintained, that the elements are really changed from ordinary bread and wine, into the body and blood of Christ, mystically present, as in a sacrament, and that in virtue of the consecration, not by the faith of him that receives. He then adds thus: I am to admit, and maintain whatsoever appears duly consequent to this truth: namely, that the elements so consecrated, are truly the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, in as much as the body and blood of Christ are contained in them. Then, p. 46, he farther collects thus: And the sacrifice of the cross, being necessarily propitiatory, and impetratory both, it cannot be denied that the sacrament of the eucharist, in as much as it is the same sacrifice upon the cross, is also both propitiatory, and impetratory.

Bishop Forbes comes up to the same. *De Euch. l. 3. c. 1. §. 10. Dicunt etiam sæpissime sancti patres in eucharistia offerri, & sacrificari ipsum Christi Corpus, ut ex innumeris pene locis constat.* The holy fathers very frequently say, that in the eucharist is offered and sacrificed, the

very body of Christ, as is evident in infinite places: Not that all the conditions of a sacrifice, are here properly and really found; but by a commemoration, and representation of that, which was once offered in that only sacrifice of the cross, in which Christ our high priest, consummated all other sacrifices; and by a pious supplication, in which the ministers of the church, with all humility, beseech God the Father, that for the sake of the perpetual victim of that only sacrifice, sitting at the right hand of his father in Heaven, and present upon the holy table, in an ineffable manner, he would cause the virtue and grace of this standing victim, to be efficacious, and advantageous to his church, for the remedy of all necessities, both of body and soul.

The same prelate asserts yet plainer, *De Euch. l. 3. c. 2. §. 12.* This sacrifice of the supper, is not only propitiatory, and may be offered up for the remission of our daily sins; but likewise is impetratory, and may be rightly offered for the obtaining all blessings. And then adds,

adds, Although the scripture does not plainly and in exprefs words, teach this, yet the holy fathers with unanimous consent, have thus understood the scriptures, as has at large been demonstrated by many: And all the antient liturgies prescribe, that in time of the oblation, prayers be offered for peace, for the fruits of the earth, and for other temporal benefits, as it is evident to all.

In this point I see but little difference, but that which is taught in the church of *Rome*, is taught and contended for, within the pale of the church of *England*; and this by men of learning and note. But for making it still more plain, hear what is the judgment of *Grotius*. The church, says he, commemorating the sacrifice of Christ, with the usual rite and words, in this also, sacrificeth, and offers that which is her own, given unto her by Christ: That she setteth before the eyes of God; by that she beseecheth God: And it is the same sacrifice that Christ offered; the same one, true and singular sacrifice to *Augustin*; a
sacrifice

sacrifice of memory to *Eusebius*; a spiritual sacrifice to others. After that, the faithful offer themselves, according to the example of Christ, their goods, their labours, their life also; if not in effect, in affection, as *Abraham* sacrificing, offered his son. In all this, what is there new? what deformed? what hurtful? But minds once distracted, do distract all things into a depraved meaning, and then are glad to find a hint for it, in any of the schools. *Ubi Supr. Of Christian sacrifices.*

C H A P. VI.

Of Communion in one Kind.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER the church of *Rome* does not act contrary to the command of Christ, in forbidding the people the use of the cup?

It is one of our rules, never to charge upon men the consequences of their opinions, when they expressly disown them. This seems to be our present case. For
though

though it be true, that in the church of *Rome*, is denied the cup to the people, yet they deny this to be contrary to Christ's command. And could it be made evident to them, that this is contrary to the command of Christ, I have reason to believe, they would abhor the practice. My reason is, because upon full examination into their principles, profession, books of devotion, and instruction, I find they believe in Christ in the same manner as is taught by us in the church of *England*; they profess him to be the supreme law-giver, that he is the way, the truth, and the life; that his gospel is such a rule of salvation, that whoever lives in the known transgression of it, can have no part in Christ. This I assert upon my own knowledge; and therefore as to the charge in this point, of their acting contrary to the command of Christ, it is a consequence, which they utterly deny, and hence falling under the rule now mentioned, ought not to be pressed.

Quest. II. Whether it be not evident, that Christ gave express command to all
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to drink of the cup, in those words, *Drink ye all of this*: and therefore the practice of denying the cup, utterly to be abhorred?

This being a charge against the Romanists, it is but just they should speak for themselves; therefore I here set down the defence they make.

They with us own these words spoke by Christ, *Drink ye all of this*; they own them likewise to be a plain command; but to those to whom Christ spoke them, that is, to the apostles (and to their successors) whom he then made priests, and gave them power to consecrate the elements, as he had done; for that as the power of consecrating, which Christ then gave to the apostles, is not to be extended to the laity, so neither the command of *drinking*, which he gave at the same time. This they explain by several other commands of Christ, given to the apostles; as *Go and teach all nations, receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven, &c.* With others of this kind, in which it is plain, what
Christ

Christ spoke to his apostles, and to their successors, is not all intended, or directed to the people. Thus they confess the evidence of the command, but say, there is no evidence from scripture, that this was a command given by Christ to the laity.

Quest. III. Whether the practice of the primitive church, in giving the sacrament, in both kinds, be not evidence, that Christ's words were understood, as a command to the laity?

The *Romanists* agree with us, and own that it was the most general practice of the primitive church, for all to receive in both kinds, even for eleven hundred years; but then they say, that the church did not do this, as judging it necessary to be so done, in obedience to any command of Christ, who had enjoined it to be given in both kinds. And this they prove from matter of fact, it being evident in the records of antiquity, that in the purest ages, it was the practice in many cases, to give the communion in one kind only; as, to the solitaries, to whom it was carried into the desert, to the

the sick, to persons on a journey, to infants, to the abstemious. And for some time also, in some places, in the ordinary communion at church; as appears from St. *Leo* the Great, and St. *Gelasius*, who was his successor in the *Roman* see, being likewise taken notice of by *Cassander* and *Grotius*. Now this being practised by the antient church, it is most evident, say they, it was judged then to be good and lawful to receive in one kind; which yet they could not judge, if it had been their sentiment, that Christ had left a command for all to receive in both; for in this supposition, it must have been abhorred, as a thing contrary to a plain precept of Christ.

Hence again, the *Romanists* argue from this allowed practice; that as the primitive church judged it good and lawful to receive in both kinds, so they likewise judged it good and lawful (upon some motives and circumstances) to receive in one kind; and consequently, that the manner of receiving, whether in both kinds, or one, was no matter of precept, but subject to difference of practice, according

cording to circumstances, and therefore reputed as a point of discipline, capable of change. And this is the very sentiment of the *Roman* church: For they say, it is good to receive in one kind; and likewise, that it is good to receive in both. It was the general practice formerly, to receive in both kinds, and so it may be again. This was the sense of the church, even before the restraint was laid by the council of *Constance*; it being evident from history, that several bishops, observing the irreverences committed in giving the cup, forbid it to be given to the laity in their diocesses, even before the meeting of that council, as it was likewise done by the *Cistercian* order; which plainly shews, that the receiving in both kinds, or one, was judged no matter of precept, but only of discipline, determinable by circumstances. In which sentiment, it may be presumed, the *Greek* church did concur, who laying hold on all arguments to justify their not communicating with the Latin church, never mentioned this of forbidding the cup to the laity,

laity, which they would certainly have done, had they judged the receiving in both kinds to have been of precept.

So far at least the present Greek church concurs with the Latin, as not to take those words of Christ, *Drink ye all of this*, to be a precept in the literal sense: whilst it no where gives the cup to the laity to drink: but communicates the people with the symbol of Christ's body intinct in that of his blood, taken out of the chalice with a little spoon, and so put into their mouths; which is not literally drinking of the cup. And the sick they communicate only with the symbol of Christ's body consecrated on *Maundy Thursday*, for all the year following, and then on that day, besprinkled with the symbol of his blood, and at the same time dried and hardened over the fire, and softened again for the sick, with common wine, at the time, when they administer it. The former way then of communicating the people generally in both kinds, has been changed in both churches, and upon the same grounds, namely, upon the many, and great irreverences, that have happened,

happened, in giving the consecrated bread into their hands, and in allowing so many communicants of all ages and conditions to drink out of the cup. And while changed in fact in the present Greek and Latin churches, and differently administered in the primitive church, that is never giving it in both kinds, when there was danger of irreverence by administering it in both; hence they argue, that the *manner* of administering the sacrament, is only of discipline, and alterable; and that the sense of the primitive church was the same as now it is in the Greek and Latin; *viz.* that wherever there is danger of irreverence in giving the sacrament in both kinds, there is no precept, for so giving it, but it may be lawfully and profitably given in one.

These are some of the reasons, upon which the Church of *Rome* proceeds, and endeavours to prove, that the giving the cup to all is not of precept, and consequently, that she transgresses no precept in forbidding it, upon due motives to the laity. Now upon examination, I find several leading men of the refor-

reformation, and even some of note in our own church, agreeing with the Romanists, and owning, that Christ has no where in scripture given command for all to receive in both kinds. As bishop *Forbes*, who owns the primitive practice of giving the communion in one kind, in particular cases, and bishop *White*, and bishop *Montague*, who say, the authority for giving it in both kinds, is rather from tradition than scripture. So far do these *learned* men grant, and in this contribute to the accommodating this considerable point. For if it can be allowed in our church, that there is no precept in scripture for giving the sacrament in both kinds, then in our church we may confess, that it is not contrary to any precept, to forbid the cup to the laity; and consequently according to our sixth rule, this ought not to be made the breach of communion, since it is not a practice against the laws of God. But if we cannot do this, yet still peace ought not to be despaired on this account, since the church of *Rome*, owning this to be a point of discipline only, and therefore alterable, can yield to us in
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this point; as it did to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, an. 1564, in granting the use of the cup to the laity in the German nation, upon the hopes of gaining that people, by such condescension, to the unity of the church, it having been left by the council of *Constance*, to the Pope's prudence, to grant leave to any nation, or people, of communicating in both kinds, as he should judge reasonable. What therefore has been already done, upon the desire of peace, may be done again, upon the same motive, as it was indeed offered by the Pope to Queen *Elizabeth*.

Quest. IV. Whether the decree of *Constance* was with a *non obstante* to Christ's command?

This could not be in their system, since they positively assert, that there was no such command of Christ. It was *non obstante institutione*. That although Christ ordained it in both kinds, in regard to the apostles, and the exercise of priestly function, yet still the cup might, upon due motives, be denied to the laity; which alters the case, and answers the question,

question, so as not to be made an exception against catholic communion.

Quest. V. Whether the denial of the cup be not defrauding the laity?

This seems a consequence, according to our common opinion of the sacrament; but in the sense of the church of *Rome*, it seems not just to charge it upon them. For while they firmly believe and teach, (and some of ours hold with them) that not only the virtue and benefits of Christ's passion is applied by the sacrament; but likewise, that Christ is really given to the communicant; it is certain, according to this doctrine that no more is received in both kinds, than in one; it is Christ is given in one kind, and no more than Christ in both; and who can say, that having Christ communicated unto them, they are defrauded of any thing, while in Christ they have and possess all? Besides, that no priest, bishop, or pope, receives otherwise than the laity, in one kind only, unless they consecrate, and then it is for the sacrifice, that both kinds are necessary, not for the communion. So that here none can suspect any fraud. As to

to the thing received, it is the very same received both by laity and clergy; all the difference is in the *manner* of receiving: And while this *manner* has been various in all times, according to circumstances, without the least suspicion of any defrauding, it seems not reasonable to press this charge now, especially since, according to our fourth rule, the consequences of men's opinions ought not to be charged upon them, such consequences at least as they deny, and apprehend no reason to suspect.

Thus there may be hopes of compounding this point; whilst, if we cannot come over to them, they may yield here and come to us.

C H A P. VII.

Of praying for the Dead, and Purgatory.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER the preaching up purgatory does not make persons bold in sin, and neglect repentance?

If it does, it is a great abuse, which that church does not approve, much less impose on any, and therefore ought not
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according to our second rule, be pressed as an occasion of distinct communion. By what I observe in their spiritual books, they press the necessity of true repentance, as much as we can desire. But if libertines amongst them, observe not such directions, this cannot in justice be cast upon purgatory ; since it is evident they live in defiance of hell, and through want of faith, or blindness, put all to the hazard ; and are these no where to be found, but where purgatory is taught ?

Quest. II. Whether their praying for the most wicked sinners, be not a proof, that they think purgatory a shelter for all crimes ?

They positively believe, as we do, that as the very good and faithful servants of God go directly to heaven, so sinners, who die without a sincere repentance, go directly to hell. In this we agree. But because the inward state of a dying christian is unknown to them, therefore suspending all judging in a case, wherein not they, but God alone is judge, they let charity prevail, which supposing, and hoping the best, prays
for

for all such as die; knowing, that if the souls for which they pray are not capable of relief, yet their prayers will not be lost before God, who is the faithful rewarder of charity, even though it happens to be misapplied. Just as the apostolical salutation, *Peace be to this house*, was not lost, even in a house where there was no son of peace; for that in this case, Christ promised, the peace should return to their benefit, who made the prayer of peace for their neighbour. Thus they expound their charity, and it being an innocent piety, if not well grounded, it need be no occasion of breach between us.

Quest. III. Whether the doctrine of purgatory be not a point of meer gain, and many ridiculous deliverances from that prison pretended, for making the people liberal in opening their purses, for their interest, who serve the altar?

I cannot but fear great abuses in a case, where money is stirring; for so it was, even in the purest times of the apostles. But whatever these abuses are, upon examination, I find, that church approves not of such abuses, but in the

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council

council of *Trent*, takes notice of them, and strictly gives it in charge to the bishops, to take care for their being reformed. *Sess. 25. Decr. de Purg.* There they are first enjoined, that nothing be taught of purgatory, but according to what is delivered by the holy fathers, and sacred councils. Secondly, that they suffer nothing to be published or preached, which can be suspected of being false or uncertain. Thirdly, that they forbid, and take away all that favours of superstition or filthy lucre, as being scandals and stumbling-blocks to the faithful. Now, while that church is so far from imposing such abuses and ill practices, that she joins with us in desiring and requiring their reformation, this question, according to our second rule, may be laid by, and be made no hinderance to communion; since the communion here proposed, is not with the corruptions of church-men, but with the church, which declares against such corruptions, though not wholly removed, for want of due execution of her injunctions.

Quest. IV. Whether praying for the souls of such as are dead, be not vain, and superstitious; and being no where found

found in scripture, is a practice, which cannot be joined with or approved ?

The church of *Rome* confesses this practice to be no where taught in scripture, more plainly than in the apocryphal books ; as 2 *Macch.* 12. 43. But then she says, this doctrine and practice, has been delivered down in all ages, even the most primitive ; not only in the writings of the fathers, but by the agreeing practice of the universal church ; that it cannot be questioned to have been ordained by the apostles, and received from them, by all christian churches, wherever the gospel was preached by them.

I have examined this point, and must confess, I have found very great authority for it, both in consent of fathers, and antient practice. But having undertaken only to relate, I insert not my own thoughts, but the judgment of others : And for this point, hear first what the late Duchess of *York* says in her paper. " I spoke severally to two of the best bishops we have in *England* [*Sheldon*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Blandford*, bishop of *Worcester*.] Who both told me, there were many things in the *Roman*

church, which it were very much to be wished, we had kept: As confession, which was, no doubt, commanded by God: That praying for the dead, was one of the antient things in Christianity: That for their parts, they did it daily, though they would not own it." But next, it may be of good use also, to set down here the epitaphs, which bishop *Barrow*, of *St. Asaph*, and *Mr. Thorndike*, a prebendary of *Westminster*, left for themselves. The first is: *Exuviae Isaaci Asaphensis episcopi, in manum Domini depositæ, in spem lætæ resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. O vos transeuntes in domum Domini, domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestro, ut inveniat misericordiam in die Domini.* The other is: *Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndike, quondam hujus ecclesiæ præbendarij, qui vivus veram reformandæ ecclesiæ rationem & modum, precibus studiisque prosequabatur. Tu lector requiem ei & beatum in Christo resurrectionem precare.* And before these was that other eminent prelate, I mean bishop *Forbes*, who was very free to tell us his thoughts, in his *Discourse of Purgatory*.

Let

Let not the antient practice, *says he*, of praying and making oblations for the dead, received throughout the universal church of Christ, almost from the very time of the apostles, be any more rejected by Protestants as unlawful, or vain. Let them reverence the judgment of the primitive church, and admit a practice strengthened by the uninterrupted profession of so many ages: And let them as well in public as private, observe this rite, although not as absolutely necessary, or commanded by the divine law, yet as lawful, and likewise profitable, and as always approved by the universal church; that by this means, at length, a peace so earnestly desired by all learned and honest men, may be restored to the Christian world.

Again: The universal church, *says he*, has believed this practice, not only to be lawful, but likewise beneficial to the souls departed: And has always most religiously observed it, as delivered, if not from the apostles, at least from the primitive fathers; as is manifest in many places of their writings. Let it be granted, that this custom was always

judged lawful, and also profitable by pious antiquity, and most universally received at all times in the church. And then he declares, that it is evident in *Epiphanius*, and St. *Augustin*, that the contrary opinion of *Aerius*, who opposed prayers and oblations for the dead, was condemned.

Again : He confesses, that very many of the primitive fathers were of opinion, that some light offences, not remitted in this life, as to their guilt and punishment, were forgiven after death, by the intercession of the church in her public prayers, and especially those, which were offered up in the celebration of the tremendous mysteries; as likewise by the prayers, oblations or alms, given for them by private persons. Many councils concur with these fathers, and the most antient practice of the church, not to be slighted, or rashly rejected by any, unless it evidently be against the scripture; which in this matter, will be very hard to be proved. And again : It is no absurdity, *says he*, to own, that lighter sins, such as were not remitted in this life, are discharged after death, and that
soon

soon after the decease ; while the ecclesiastical rites are piously and religiously performed, in virtue of the intercession of the church, in her public prayers, and particularly those which are poured forth in the celebration of the sacred liturgy. Again : These things, which I have said of the remission of venial sin after death, through the mediation of the church, may be allowed, as not wanting its probable grounds ; that so we may maintain the prayers of the church for the souls departed, to be beneficial, and not in vain ; in as much as that practice of the church, of praying for the dead is derived, as *Chrysostom* confesses, and is very probable, from the institution of the apostles.

Thus is it asserted, and so great is the authority of this practice, of praying for the dead, acknowledged by a prelate of our own church, who, for promoting the general peace of the Christian world, had taken pains to look into antiquity ; thus he delivers his sense, and lays grounds for a good accommodation of this point ; which yet, according to our fifth rule, ought not to be made the oc-

casion of separation; since, though not in scripture, yet it is not contrary to, or forbid in scripture.

Quest. V. Whether the church of *Rome*, asserting a purgatory, has not given sufficient cause for a separation, especially since she requires all to assent to it?

This point of purgatory, is one of those, which, in *terms*, we cannot well subscribe, according to what is delivered in our articles. But having separated all superstitions, abuses and corruptions, relating to this point, which are deservedly condemned; what remains, seems a dispute about words, and so far at least, according to our third rule, it ought not to be made the occasion of separating communion.

Now, I wish the thing were calmly considered, to see, if something of this debate be not more of terms, than of real difference. The reason I have, is this; I see great men in our church hold a kind of third place, or a third state of souls. Bishop *Montague*, *Appeal*, c. 18. asserts such a state of all the souls of the righteous, before Christ's ascension; for he says positively, they were not in heaven,

ven, *strictly* taken, not in that heaven, which is now the receptacle of the righteous. Many others maintain a state peculiar to the righteous, in which they wait till the day of judgment, and then are to receive the accomplishments of their happiness. Now this seems to own a third state, which is neither hell, nor yet that heaven, which is generally understood by that name. Now if there can be allowed a third state, the difference then cannot be very great.

It is true, here is no mention yet of punishment, and therefore but little resemblance with purgatory. But if we take in here what bishop *Forbes* supposes in his discourse now mentioned, it will come something nearer. For in his *third state* (taught, as he says, in the primitive-church) he supposes the *guilt of lesser sins*, and likewise a *forgiveness* of such sins, by the prayers of the church. Now this cannot well be supposed to be any part of heaven, since *nothing that defileth* can enter there; and it is contrary to the general notion of heaven, to think it capable of sin. Neither can it be hell, because there is no forgiveness: Must it not therefore be a state capable of sin, which

is not heaven, and capable of forgiveness, which is not hell? And how far does this come short of purgatory? Especially since such souls, while under the guilt of those lesser sins, in which they die, cannot be admitted to the vision of God, and consequently have the punishment of *privation*, which is of all, the greatest, till by the intercession of the church, such guilt is remitted. Thus by deduction, we are come to a third state, and even of punishment, as taught by bishop *Forbes*, from the authority of holy fathers, and councils. Besides, the usual forms of wishing the dead *peace, light and refreshment*, together with *mercy*, shew a place or state of *uneasiness*. And even in our *litany*, as the *middle state* is evident in the prayer for deliverance in the hour of *death*, and in the day of judgment; insomuch, that *between* death, and the day of judgment, there must be some state, out of which we pray to be delivered at that great, and last-day: So the *afflictive part* is plainly implied in the word *deliver*, which is always from something *disagreeable* to us. If then we can go thus far in our communion, the *Roman church*

church will here meet us: For though they generally speak of purgatory fire, yet, upon due enquiry, I find, this fire is no more than the common opinion of their divines, but no where defined, as of faith, either in the council of *Florence*, or *Trent*, in both which purgatory is defined, without mention of fire; nay, the *Greeks* opposed this opinion in the council of *Florence*, as is related out of *Bel-larmin*, by *Veron* (*Rule of Faith, of Purgat.*), and yet without any breach of communion upon this account. Hence since this point of purgatory fire is only an opinion, and not imposed on any, according to our second rule it ought not to be insisted on; and hence is a way made here, which gives some hopes of peace.

Quest. VI. Whether such a state, or place as purgatory, being no where mentioned in scripture, be not reason enough for ever to stand against it?

Our church has not undertaken to reform to the letter of the scripture, but to the pure primitive church of Christ, which is the best expositor of scripture, and likewise the best witness of all that was taught by the apostles. Hence our
most

most eminent prelates express a reverence, and even submission to what that primitive church has delivered to us, though no where mentioned in holy writ. As bishop *Forbes* in this chapter, about praying for the dead; bishop *Gunning*, in his treatise of *Lent*, proving it to be apostolical, though no where expressed in scripture; and our whole church has given authority to this, in receiving the *Nicene* and *Athanasian* creeds, with all their contents, though no where mentioned in scripture. Nay, the Gospel itself encourages it, while it assures us, That all things are not written: And St. *Paul*, in giving this charge to the *Thessalonians*: *Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle, 2 Thess. 2. 15.* Hence bishop *Montague* asserting a third state of pious souls, before Christ's ascension, and having put this objection, *There's no such place mentioned in scripture:* Answers it thus; Though there be no third place mentioned in scripture, yet it would not follow hence, that there was no such place, because there are many things, which are not expressed in scripture.

scripture. Then as to the texts, which seem to restrain the state of departed souls, either to Hell, or Heaven, he says, This is to be understood of the final state of souls, after the day of judgment, when there will be no more than two conditions of souls everlasting, *viz.* Heaven and Hell; and in this both churches agree. *Appar. p. 135.* Hence a third place, or state, being not expressed in scripture, ought not to be the cause of separation; especially, if such a state is evidently consequent to what was taught by the primitive church, as seems to be, from what has been recited out of bishop *Forbes*.

C H A P. VIII.

Of Penances, Indulgences, and the Number of Sacraments.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER penances are of good use, and necessary, or fit to be enjoined for sins?

Of this there needs be no dispute, since this ancient discipline is allowed, and

and earnestly wished for in the *Commination*, which is to be read yearly on the first day of Lent: And I have heard, that King *Charles II.* upon this occasion, used to ask with some wonder, who it was that hindered the restoring thereof.

Quest. II. Whether indulgences are not abominable, which either give leave to sin, or grant the pardon of past sins, and these obtained for a sum of money?

This was the opinion I formerly had of indulgences; but since I began to follow other measures, besides taking upon trust, upon diligent examination, I have found, that *indulgences* in the church of *Rome*, are neither pardons for sin, nor leave to commit sin, but the same which has been practised in the purest ages of the church; and that is, a remission of some part of those canonical penances, which were wont to be inflicted for some greater crimes. This power of binding and loosing, we own in the church, and retain it in our canons; and it is yet in force, in respect of some crimes. And *Dr. Cave* shews it to have been practised in the primitive church. *Prim. Christ. p. 3. c. 5. p. 369. 374.* The church of
Rome

Rome proposes no more in her definitions of faith, than that the power of granting indulgences is given to the church by Jesus Christ, and the use of them beneficial to the faithful.

This is all that is proposed, as a term of communion by that church, which being according to the doctrine of our own, I do not see any reason to divide upon this account; especially, since the council of *Trent*, *Sess. 25. c. 21. de Reform.* in its decree of indulgences, refers to antiquity, and to what has been established by ancient synods: In which nothing more was taught besides the dispensing, upon due motives, with the rigour of discipline; for by this it appears, there is no other meaning of indulgences imposed upon any, besides that which was primitive, and we still retain.

These indulgences, having been formerly called *pardons*, I presume, has been the occasion of their having been reputed pardons for sins; and whereas giving of *alms* has been generally one condition required for gaining such indulgences; hence has it been thought, that the par-

don

don of sin was offered for money. But upon enquiry, I find these to be mistakes. For all books of doctrine in the church of *Rome* unanimously teach, that there is no pardon of sin, without true repentance, and an humble confession of sin; and if these do not precede, no *indulgence* can avail them, in order to the pardon of their sin. In this I am certain we join, and they require no more, for our joining with them; and therefore, as to this point, I see great hopes of an amicable accord.

Quest. III. Whether the granting indulgences for many thousand years, and such as are found in many books, of many years pardon, with the release of a soul out of purgatory, granted for saying one short prayer, or wearing some medal, be not scandal enough to discourage all men of sense from joining with the church of *Rome*?

The canonical penances of the primitive church, I observe, were for many years, whence it cannot be wondered, if the tenor of indulgences, which are the release of such penalties, be for many years. But as to the thousand years pardons,

pardons, with the rest now mentioned, there are none of these offered by any general council, nor have place in any profession of faith, and therefore being not imposed on any, though never so corrupt, yet, according to our second rule, they are not to obstruct communion, since joining in communion with that church, does not oblige to consent to, or approve any such practices. It being as common in that church to disapprove the concession of indulgences for frivolous causes, and some slight work, as by others that are out of it.

Quest. IV. Whether the doctrine of indulgences, was not that, which obliged *Luther* to depart from the church, and undertake a reformation? How then can the reformation join with it?

By the best account of history, I find, there had been great abuses in this point of indulgences, such as were not less injurious than provoking; so that I do not wonder at *Luther*, in making a party against them, but think, he had deserved the applause of the Christian world, had he done it in a canonical way. But I find too, he was not the only person
that

that expressed a zeal against such corrupt practices. Pope *Innocent II.* had long before complained of them in the great *Lateran* council, laying the intolerable abuses, on the *Questors*, or collectors in those days. *Clement V.* in the council at *Vienna*, an. 1311, censures the evil practices of those times much more, and makes a severe order against the wicked ministers, and under-officers of the inferior clergy, to whom the publishing of indulgences, and collection of the people's alms, for some public and pious uses, was committed. He exposes their crime, in undertaking with much rashness, and the delusion of souls, to grant indulgences, to release penances, and deceitfully to promise to those that gave them alms, the release of three or four of their parents or friends souls out of purgatory; representing them as great liars and cheats: and then taking care to put an effectual stop to all such abuses. But this is best seen in the words of the constitution.

Having given this character of these *Quæstores*: *Illos in suis prædicationibus simplices decipere, & aurum extorquere, in animarum*

marum periculum, & plurimorum scandalum. He then goes on thus: *Cum aliqui ex hujusmodi Quæstoribus, sicut ad nostram audientiam est perlatum, non sine multa temeritatis audacia, deceptione multiplici animarum, indulgentias populo, motu suo proprio, de facto concedant; super votis dispensent; in perjurijs, homicidijs, & peccatis alijs sibi confitentes absolvant; male ablata incerta (data sibi aliqua pecuniæ quantitate) remittant; tertiam, aut quartam partem de pœnitentijs injunctis relaxent; animas tres, vel plures parentum, vel amicorum illorum, qui eleemosynas eis conferunt, de Purgatorio (ut asserunt mendaciter) extrahant, & ad gaudia Paradisi perducant; benefactoribus locorum, quorum Quæstores existunt, remissionem plenariam peccatorum indulgeant; & aliqui ex ipsis, eos a pœna & a culpa (ut eorum verbis utamur) absolvant.* Nos abusus hujusmodi omnimode aboleri volentes, inhibemus. *Constit. Clem. l. 5. tit. 9. c. 2.*

Here is confessed the origin of those extravagant indulgencies above mentioned, and care taken for removing the grand abuses, by which those trading questors had imposed upon the people, and most scandalously enriched themselves.

selves. This care might probably have some effect; but where covetousness had so great a prey, the cure was not lasting: The like abuses returned again, and were those with which the church was deformed in *Luther's* days. Now had the church of *Rome* undertaken to justify and defend such abuses, his arming the state against the church, might have had some colour. But although there did not appear that zeal for so timely a reforming them, as the scandals seemed to require, yet as *Clement* had done before, so did the pastors of the church afterwards, lament those corruptions, and take more effectual care for their being removed, and their return prevented.

For the council of *Trent*, complaining of the fruitless endeavours of precedent councils, quite abrogated this office of *Questors*, and in abhorrence of their scandals, wholly abolished their name, with all the privileges belonging to them; and committed the publishing of such indulgences, and collecting charities, to the *ordinary*, with two of the chapter joined with him, to be done,
nulla.

nulla prorsus Mercede accepta. Sess. 21.
c. 9.

And then for reforming all abuses,
see what decree it has made: *Sess. 25,*
c. 21. Decr. de Indul.

“ The holy synod desires, that moderation be used in granting indulgences, according to the antient and approved custom in the church, lest by too much facility, ecclesiastical discipline be weakened. And being solicitous, that abuses, which have crept in, be reformed and corrected, which have given occasion to heretics, of blaspheming the venerable name of indulgences; it ordains in general, by this present decree, that all wicked lucre for obtaining them, which has been the cause of many great abuses amongst the faithful, be wholly abolished. And, as for all other abuses, which are occasioned by superstition, ignorance, irreverence, or from what other cause soever, since they cannot be here in particular forbid, by reason of the manifold corruptions of places and provinces, in which they are committed; therefore the synod strictly enjoins all bishops, to take a particular list of such abuses, in
their

their respective diocesses, and give in a memorial of them, to the first provincial synod; that being acknowledged by the sentence of other bishops, they may be forthwith laid before the bishop of *Rome*; by whose authority and prudence, may be ordained what may be expedient for the whole church."

Thus stands this point of indulgences, which has been attended with great abuses: But since the church of *Rome*, maintains not such abuses, but joins with *Luther*, and the rest of the reformation, in using means for their being removed, we ought not to make such abuses an exception against communion, but, according to our second rule, lay aside this question.

Quest. V. Whether the number of seven sacraments in the church of *Rome*, be not a just exception against communion?

This seems a dispute principally about a *term*, and therefore, according to our third rule, not sufficient to obstruct communion. We all agree, that a sacrament is a visible sign of inward and spiritual grace. Now, though the question
be

be asked in our church-catechism, *How many sacraments has Christ ordained in his church?* And the answer is thus made: *Two only, as generally necessary to salvation:* Yet this does not exclude others from that name and designation, though from the prerogative and degree; so that, although there be but two, *as generally necessary to salvation*, yet it is consistent with our church's doctrine, to allow of others, not thus necessary, but of an inferior prerogative and degree. This is bishop Montague's exposition of this article in terms. *Appeal to Cæs. c. 33.* Where he quotes Calvin, acknowledging *ordination* to be a sacrament: *Sacramentum esse concedo; sed inter ordinaria sacramenta non numero.* Upon which, bishop Montague says this: *No papist living, I think, will say, or desire more. It is not for all, but for some.* Now if this will stand good in our church, it will likewise stand in the Roman communion, it being the very doctrine they teach; as may be seen in the catechism, *ad Paroch. p. 2. de Sacram. §. 19.* Where are these words: *Illud vero Maxime advertendum est, quamvis omnia sacramenta divinam,*
& ad-

Et admirabilem virtutem in se contineant, tamen non parem omnia, Et æqualem necessitatem, aut dignitatem, aut unam, eandemque significandi vim habere. Which is the sense of the bishop's words now given. Whence it may be hoped, that this point may be accommodated, as having more difference in terms, than in substance.

C H A P. IX.

Of Confession, Repentance, and the Pardon of Sin.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER it be not abominable sacrilege in the church of *Rome*, to go to men for the pardon of sin, whilst in so doing, they forsake God for man?

Upon examination into this point, I find the Romanists believe as firmly as we do, that there is no power but of God alone, can forgive sins: And that, where God has made men the ministers of his power, there to go to such his ministers, is not to forsake God, or to seek any other power, besides of God; but it is to comply with his ordinance, and

and consequently the direct way of seeking God; since doing his will is the most effectual way of going to him. He that hears you, hears me. Thus they; hence if any fix this upon them, of forsaking God, it is a consequence which they expressly disown; and therefore, according to our fourth rule, ought not to be pressed, so as to make this the cause of a breach between us, especially in a point, in which the two churches agree in so many particulars.

For, *First*, We allow of confession. It is advised in the *exhortation* giving warning of a *communion*; and more particularly, a *special confession* is urged in the rubric, at the *visitation of the sick*. But if not requisite, why is the dying person to be then alarmed and troubled therewith, when least capable to reflect upon his past life. Hear, bishop *Montague*: Private confession unto a Priest, is of very antient practice in the church, of excellent use and benefit; being discreetly handled. We refuse it to none, if men require it, if need be to have it; we urge and persuade it *in extremis*: We require it in the case of perplexity,

for the quieting of men disturbed, and their consciences. *Appeal. c. 32.*

Secondly, We approve of *absolution*, and use the very same form as the church of *Rome*. *By his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins.*

And though many with us, own this sentence to be no more than *declarative*, yet in our church, it is held to be *absolute* and *judiciary*; as by *Dr. Comber*, in his exposition of the *Common-Prayer*, and others. At least we own the power of the keys, as bishop *Andrews*, in his prayer: *Giving me good hopes of the remission of my sins, by repentance, and by the good works thereof, through the power of the most holy keys, and sacraments in thy church.*
Man. of Priv. Devot.

Thirdly, The same learned prelate seems to plead even the necessity of making application to the priests of the church: In his *Court Sermon*, on *Jo. 20. 23. Quorum remiseritis peccata.* We are not, says he, the ordinance of God thus standing, to rend off one part of the sentence: Three are here expressed, three persons:
1. The person of the sinner in *quorum*;
2. Of God, in *remittuntur*; 3. Of the priest,

priest, in *remiseritis*. Three are expressed; and where three are expressed, three are required; and where three are required, two are not enough. It is St. *Augustin*, that thus speaketh of this ecclesiastical act in his time; *Nemo sibi dicat*, Let nobody say within himself, I repent in private, I repent before God: God, who pardons me, knows I repent from my heart: Then to no purpose was it said, Whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven: Then to no purpose were the keys given to the church of God; we make void the gospel, we make void the words of Christ. Thus this bishop, and then takes notice, that in the ordination of priests, are these very words: *Quorum remiseritis peccata: Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven*. And then adds: God ordinarily proceedeth, in remitting sin, by the church's act. And hence they have their parts in this work, and cannot be excluded; no more in this, than in other acts, and parts of their function. And to exclude them, is (after a sort) to wring the keys out of their hands, to whom Christ hath given them; is to cancel,

and make void this clause of *remiseritis*, as if it were no part of the sentence; to account of all this solemn sending, and inspiring, as if it were an idle and fruitless ceremony.

Now this being a doctrine so much approved, and there being an agreement in so many particulars, there seems reason to hope, that means may be found to accommodate this point between the two churches.

Quest. II. Whether it be not impossible to close with a church, which requires no repentance for the pardon of sin, but running to a priest, and confessing, which is enough for the worst of crimes, and encourages penitents to believe all well, though immediately they return to the vomit, repeating the same wickedness, which they had but just confessed?

None, that are serious in Christianity can close with such doctrine; for it is certainly abominable. As to matter of fact, I cannot say how far this may be the practice of hardened sinners. But as to matter of doctrine, I can positively say, this is not the doctrine of the church

church of *Rome*. For having examined both their councils, public catechisms, prayer books, and other practical treatises, I find the point of repentance is as strictly pressed, and a true conversion with amendment of life declared as necessary for the pardon of sin, by them in that church, as it is, or can be by us. For this I produce the council of *Trent*. *Sess. 14. c. 4.* where (it being declared, that *contrition* is the first act, which belongs to a penitent, who desires to make his peace with God) *contrition* is thus described, *Contritio animi dolor, ac detestatio est de peccato commissæ, cum proposito non peccandi de cætero, &c.* *Contrition* is a grief and detestation of the mind for sin committed, with a purpose of sinning no more. Now this *contrition* has been at all times necessary for obtaining pardon of sin; and in a man falling after baptism, it so prepares for the remission of sin, if it be joined with a confidence in the divine mercy, and a desire of performing what other things are required for this sacrament. Wherefore the holy synod declares, that *contrition* does not only comprehend a ceasing from sin,

with the purpose, and beginning of a new life, but likewise a hatred of the old, according to that of the prophet, Cast away from you all your iniquities, in which you have prevaricated; and make to yourselves a new heart and a new spirit. For certainly, whoever considers those cries of the saints: To thee only have I sinned, and have done evil before thee: I have laboured with groaning: I will every night water my bed *with tears*: will call over my past years in the bitterness of my soul; with others like, will easily perceive, that a vehement hatred of the past life, and great adhorrence of sin, has been the spring, from whence they flowed. It declares likewise, that imperfect contrition, which is called attrition, because it commonly arises either from the consideration of the foulness of sin, or from the fear of punishment, *Si voluntatem peccandi excludat, cum spe veniæ*; if it turns the will from sin with the hopes of mercy, does not make a man a hypocrite, and greater sinner, but is the gift of God. And again, c. 8, as to imposing penances, the council gives this direction: Let priests
be

be mindful, that the penance they prescribe, be not only for being faithful in in a new life, and the cure of weakness, but also for the revenge and punishment of past sins.

The same doctrine is repeated at large in the catechism *ad Parochos*, in which the people are to be instructed; and where these particulars are inculcated:

1. That contrition for sin ought to be a grief of all the greatest; because sins turn the heart from God, and therefore are above all things to be detested; and this proved from several reasons. 2. That the penitent ought to detest not only some, but all his sins: expressed thus; *Primum necesse est, peccata omnia, quæ admissimus, odisse, & dolere*. It is declared to be necessary. 3. That the penitent ought to engage in a firm and stable resolution of amending his life: And this pressed from many texts of scripture, to shew, that it is what is expressly required by God himself, and a condition necessary to be observed; with much more at length. *De Sacram. Pœnit. Par. 35, &c.*

This is the general tenor of all their books, which give directions for repentance and confession; and it being a point of greatest concern, and in which, I had a great mind to be perfectly satisfied, I therefore examined all the books I could hear of, composed in several nations, for the use of the people, which have been made English: As *Rodericus*, a Spaniard; *Segnori*, an Italian; the *Spiritual Director*, a Frenchman; besides others of our own nation. And in this they all with one voice concur: That a sincere repentance is absolutely necessary for the pardon of sin; and that no confession is to any purpose, if it be not accompanied with a real detestation of sin, and a sincere resolution of a new life. The book last mentioned, may serve for all, to give satisfaction in this point, *chap.* 15, 16. Where this doctrine is delivered: That confession can be to no purpose, if it be not accompanied with certain interior dispositions, set down in the scripture. The first is a sincere regret and compunction, for the sins we confess. The second is, a firm resolution, to correct and amend them.

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It is plain, says he, these two dispositions are of absolute necessity; for it is impossible, that God shall pardon a sin, which the sinner does not detest. So long as the love of our sins remains in us, so long likewise does the guilt; nor can all the confessing in the world discharge us of it.

Now this being the professed doctrine of the church of *Rome*, the corrupt practices of hypocrites, or sinners, or the opinions of some schoolmen, ought not to be made an objection against communion, according to our second rule, since communicating with the church, requires no [communication, but rather a detestation of such evil practices.

Quest. III. Whether the doctrine of a death-bed repentance in the church of *Rome*, be not abominable, which is such an encouragement to a sinful life, and afford such assurance, upon the uncertainty of what is done at the last moment?

I have spared no labour necessary for a true information in this point; and upon enquiry, have certainly found,

that the church of *Rome*, both in practice and doctrine, joins with us. It is true, if any sinner at the last hour, makes profession, or gives signs of repentance, they refuse not absolution, because they know not the heart; and therefore, in the hour of distress, hoping the best, they let charity direct them in favour of the penitent.

But while they act thus charitably with dying persons, yet they discourage all from depending on such repentance; they shew the danger of delays in turning to God; they shew the uncertainty of all that is done on a death-bed; and this so fully, that we cannot say more on this subject, than what is delivered in their family books. See this in the *Christian Directory*, part 2, c. 7. Where are employed no less than fifty pages, to shew the danger of delaying repentance, and of the great uncertainty of whatever is done at the last hour of sinners. The same is pressed in a smaller volume, *A contrite and humble Heart*: Where one principal head is the *Danger of Delay*; and in twenty pages is said enough to discourage any sinner from
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the confidence of what is to be done on a death-bed. But I need not appeal to private authors, when the council of *Trent* declares the difficulty of a new life, which belongs to confession, to be so great, that none can have hopes of coming to it, *Sine magnis nostris fletibus, & laboribus*; without earnest tears, and great labour: And in another place, That the whole life of a Christian, ought to be a life of penance. For while this is required, the encouragement is but very little to those who begin at the last hour, when persons are generally disabled, and made unfit for doing any thing.

Whatever therefore be the practical abuses, it is certain the doctrine of that church is very sound, as to what belongs to repentance; and therefore according to our second rule, these questions ought to be no occasion of separate communion.

C H A P. X.

Of Merit, Satisfaction, Works of Supererogation, and Relics.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER it be not a damnable presumption in the Romanists to trust in their own merits, and so to confide in the value of their own works, as to demand heaven as their due?

This doctrine of merit sounds very ill, but upon a full enquiry, the dispute seems to be more about *words*, than any real difference between the two churches. For what the church of *Rome* means by *merit*, is no more than this: That God gives grace to do many good works, to which he has promised a reward: As may be seen at length, in the council of *Trent*. *Sess. 6. c. 16.* Where are brought proofs of scripture, to shew the promises God has made to such as persevere to the end, in working righteousness, and keeping his commandments.

Now, as to the very power, by which any is enabled to do good, they declare also there as we do, that it is all from the grace of God, through *Jesus Christ*, which goes before, accompanies, and follows

follows every good work, and without which, nothing can find acceptance with God. And when they have done all they can do, through the divine grace, they say again, as we do, that they are not to glory, nor confide in themselves, but in the pure mercy of God. Hear how the council of *Trent* expresses it :

Although the holy Scripture promises eternal rewards to those that do good. *Abfit tamen, ut Christianus homo in seipso vel confidat, vel gloriatur, & non in Domino.* Nevertheless far be it from a christian to confide, or glory in himself, and not in our Lord: whose goodness is so great towards all men, that he will have that to be their merits, which is his own gift. And because, in many things we all offend ; therefore every one as he considers the mercy and goodness of God, so he ought likewise to have before his eyes his severity and judgment ; and not make a full judgment of himself, even although he be not conscious to himself of any guilt ; because the whole life of man is to be examined and judged, not by the judgment of men, but of God, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and manifest the secrets of hearts.

hearts. After this declaration the censure is there added, *Can. 26.* If any one shall say, that the just for those good works, which are done in God, ought not to expect, and hope for an eternal recompence from God, through his mercy, and the merit of Jesus Christ, if he perseveres to the end, doing well, and keeping the divine law; let him be anathema.

This is the sense of that church. And hence, since they teach, that they can do no good, but through the grace of God; that the reward, which God promises, is the effect of his goodness and bounty; that nothing can be accepted, but through Christ: and that when they have done all they can, they are still to go on in the fear of God's judgments; let us consider that all this, is also the doctrine of our church; And while we agree in the substance of our doctrine, the term of *merit*, which they use, ought not, according to our third rule, make a difference between us.

If farther satisfaction be required in this point, it may be had in *Rodriguez. Treat. 3. of Humil. C. 30, 31.* Where
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he declares, that it is an article of faith, that we have nothing of our own flock, but sin; and that we hold all the rest from God's bounty, to whom ought to be ascribed the glory of all we have received; and not to ourselves, but to God alone, the author and dispenser of all good. That we can do nothing of ourselves, when separated from the true vine, who is Christ Jesus. That of ourselves, we are good for nothing, but as dead branches, to be burnt; and if we are any thing, *It is by the grace of God that we are what we are.* Hence we are not to impute any thing to ourselves, nor rely any way upon our own strength, but ascribe all to God. And (c. 32.) as life and motion are not to be attributed to the body, but to the soul, that animates it; so the soul must not ascribe to itself the good actions it does, but to God alone, who quickens it by his grace, and gives it the means to perform them. We must have a continual diffidence of ourselves, and an entire confidence in God. And when we have done all that depends on us, we are obliged to confide no more therein, than as if we had done nothing;

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we must look upon ourselves as unprofitable servants, and put our confidence in God alone, according to these words of our Saviour: When ye have done all that is commanded ye, say still, ye are unprofitable servants. Thus is this doctrine taught, and repeated by a Jesuit, whose works are in all languages, for the instruction of all. The same is taught in short, in the *Following of Christ*, which is in the hands of all. L. 2. C. 11. And when he has done all that he knows to be done, let him think he has done nothing. Let him not weigh that much, which might be much esteemed, but according to truth, let him affirm himself to be an unprofitable servant, as our Saviour has said. Here the doctrine appears the same we teach, and therefore the difference of terms ought not to separate communions.

Quest. II. Whether it be not a doctrine of great presumption in the church of Rome; and very injurious to the passion of Christ, to teach people, that by their own works, they may make satisfaction for their sins, by which they have provoked God's anger against them?

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This seems to be another dispute, like the former, about a term. For having made enquiry into this point, I find, that though this be a common way of speaking among their authors, yet they mean no more than what we may approve; and that they expressly disown all things in this doctrine, which can be injurious to Christ. Hear how the council of *Trent* declares it. *Sess. 14. c. 8*:

Neither has there been any other way judged more secure in the church of God, for turning away the divine chastisements, than for men to be assiduous in performing those works of penance with a true grief of mind. Moreover, while by making satisfaction, we suffer for our sins, we are conformed to Christ Jesus, who satisfied for our sins, and from whom is all our sufficiency; whence also we have a certain pledge, that if we suffer with him, we shall be glorified with him. Neither is this satisfaction, we perform for our sins, so ours, that it is not through' Jesus Christ. For, we, who of ourselves, as of ourselves, can do nothing, are able to do all things through

through him, who works together with us, and strengthens us. Whence man has nothing, wherein to glory : But all our glorying is in Christ, in whom we live, in whom we merit, in whom we satisfy ; bringing forth worthy fruits of penance, which have their efficacy from him, which are offered by him to the Father, and through him are accepted by the Father. And by these satisfactions, no catholic ever yet thought, that the efficacy of the merit, and satisfaction of our Lord Jesus Christ was either blemished, or any way lessened.

Thus the council speaks of satisfaction ; and while they derive all from Christ, and confess, with us, that they can do nothing of themselves, and that whatever acceptance their penitential works find with God, it is not from any thing they do, but only and wholly through the merit and passion of Christ, it seems to be a doctrine little different from us, except only in *terms*, which, according to our third rule, ought to make no difference of communion. And if the doctrine be different, yet since they disown whatever can be injurious to the
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passion of Christ, this consequence, according to our fourth rule, ought not to be pressed upon them, so as to become the occasion, or warrant for justifying a separation.

Quest. III. Whether it does not betray an intolerable pride and confidence in the *Romanists*, to think they can do more than God requires at their hands, and more than is necessary, which they call *works of supererogation*?

I have carefully weighed their profession of faith, and find not so much as a hint of this doctrine, neither can I see any footstep of it in the council of *Trent*; whence I have reason to judge it to be no more than a *school opinion*, which, according to our first rule, ought not to make a difference of communion: Or, at least, is not imposed on any, and therefore, by our second rule, is to be laid aside. Though, if I apprehend it aright, it means no more, than we may approve, that is, the performance of such good works, which God has not required of us by any precept; such as it was in *Mary Magdalen*, when falling at the feet of Jesus in the Pharisee's house, she anointed

anointed them with ointment, having first washed them with her tears, and wiped them with her hair. Repentance, and love of Christ was commanded, but this her manner of expressing it, so acceptable to Jesus, was not commanded, and hence it is termed by them a work of supererogation; and if no more be meant by it, the difference can be only about a term, which, according to our third rule, ought not to make a difference.

Quest. IV. Whether the doctrine and practice of the church of *Rome*, as to relics, be not abominable, while they place so much confidence in them, and abuse the world with so many counterfeit and ridiculous things, for the relics of saints?

Their profession of faith says no more than, *Reliquias esse venerandas, That the relics of saints are to be venerated.* And while they expound, and declare this to be no more, than what is given to other holy things, as to the *sacred vessels*, &c. It seems not contrary to the doctrine of our church, which allows a veneration to holy things, and therefore may give hopes of being so compounded, as to
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make no occasion of a separate communion.

But now, as to all abuses, and ridiculous impostures in this point, the church of *Rome* requires no approbation of them. Rather, I see, she has joined with the reformation, in expressing her dislike against them; and given strict charge to her pastors, to be watchful in removing all such superstitions and abuses. This she has done in the council of *Trent*, *Sess.* 25. *de Invoc.* Where having made several decrees, concerning the images of Christ, and of holy relics, is added this general order: *In has autem sanctas & salutes observationes, siqui abusus irrepserint, eos prorsus aboleri sancta synodus vehementer cupit.* If any abuses have crept into these holy and wholesome observations, the synod most earnestly desires, they should be wholly abolished. Again more expressly; *Omnis porro superstitio in sanctorum invocatione, reliquiarum veneratione, & imaginum sacro usu tollatur, omnis turpis questus eliminetur.* Moreover, let all kind of superstition in the invocation of saints, in the veneration of relics, in the sacred use of images, be taken away,

away, and all filthy lucre be rooted out. Then follows a decree: *Hæc ut fidelius observentur, statuit Sancta Synodus, nulla admittenda esse nova miracula, nec novas reliquias recipiendas, nisi recognoscente, & approbante episcopo, qui simul atque de iis aliquid compertum habuerit, adhibitis in concilium theologis, & aliis piis viris, ea faciat, quæ veritati & pietati consentanea judicaverit.* That those things may be more faithfully observed, the holy synod decrees, That no new miracles are to be admitted, nor any new relics to be received, but with the examination, and approbation of the bishop, who having found any thing certain in them, let him consult with divines and other pious men, and then do what he shall judge agreeable to truth and piety.

In this manner does that church express itself in this point, so that as to opposing and rooting out all superstition and abuses in this matter, the two churches agree, while both are for the reformation of them. And yet if there be such abuses still remaining unreformed, as long as they are not imposed on any by that church, this ought not to be

be the occasion of any breach between us, according to our second rule.

C H A P. XI.

Of breeding People in Ignorance, of Praying in an unknown Tongue, and forbidding the Bible in the vulgar Tongue.

Quest. I. **M**UST not the communion with the Roman church be unlawful, which professedly breeds up her people in ignorance, hides from them the knowledge of their greatest duties, and preaches to them in an unknown tongue?

I have taken a full information of this point, and have found upon due enquiry, that the church of *Rome* is both desirous and solicitous, that all in her communion should be duly instructed, in all duties which belong to salvation; especially in the commandments, in the creed, in the sacraments, in the Lord's prayer, and such other obligations, which the gospel lays upon all believers.

This is what that church requires, and accordingly the council of *Trent*.
Sess.

Sess. 24. de Reform. c. 4. commands all bishops, that sermons be preached to the people both in their cathedrals and in parish churches, on all Sundays and solemn festivals; that in Lent and Advent, the word of God, and the divine law be preached every day, or at least thrice a week, if they shall judge it convenient; that the people be admonished of their obligation of going to their parish church to hear the word of God. The bishops are likewise to see that on Sundays and holydays the children be duly instructed in all parishes, in the principles of the Christian Doctrine, and taught obedience both to God and their parents; and if need be, even are to make use of ecclesiastical censures for having this done effectually. Now, as to all preaching, and catechising, it is the constant practice of that church to do this in the vulgar tongue of each respective nation, that so the people may receive the benefit of what is said.

'Tis true the common form of administering the sacraments in that church is in *Latin*; but then it takes care, that the people be not ignorant of any thing
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that is done in administration of those mysteries. For this end, the said council of *Trent. Sess. 24. de Reform. c. 7.* has given strict order to all bishops, that whether they themselves, or the parish priests administer the sacraments, due care be used to expound to the people in the vulgar tongue, according to their capacity, the nature and efficacy of the sacraments, as it shall be found necessary, for their approaching to those holy ordinances with greater devotion, and reverence: And this according to the form of the catechism *ad Parochos*, which the bishops shall order to be translated into the vulgar languages, and by all parish priests be expounded to the people. It likewise orders, that in time of Mass, on all holy-days, &c. the word of God, and the duties of salvation be explained to the people, in the vulgar tongue; and that the parish priests, avoiding all unprofitable questions, be industrious to imprint the said duties in the hearts of all, and make them knowing in the law of our Lord. The same is strictly enjoined by the said council. *Sess. 5. c. 2.*

It being thus in terms enjoined by the council of *Trent*, I think, as to this point of order, and discipline, we cannot disagree with this church, or desire any better rules to be prescribed for the instruction of the flock. But if these orders are not in all places so duly executed as they ought, yet this, according to our second rule, ought not to be the occasion of a separate communion.

Quest. II. Whether it be not an insufferable injury to the people in the church of *Rome* to have the common and daily service of the church (which they call the Mass) performed in *Latin*, which they do not understand? What is this, but to be at prayers like so many statues, without sense, or understanding?

This is only a matter of discipline, and therefore subject to alteration, as shall be judged convenient for the public good. Hence there may be hopes of peace, as to this; since, if we cannot approve it as it is, for peace sake; the other side, upon the motive of a public good, may be prevailed on to allow of a change; as was done in favour of the
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new church in *China*, when leave was granted for the *Missal* to be translated, and used in the vulgar language of the *Chineses*; though afterwards it was not found necessary to be made use of, as it is related by *P. le Comte* in his *Memoirs of China*. *Let. to F. la Chaize*. And I have read, that the pope offered the same to queen *Elizabeth*.

However, to make way for a right understanding in this affair, as to the present practice of the church of *Rome*. Though, I must confess, it looks very surprizing to see the public service in *Latin*: Yet upon examination, I find this is not particular to the *Latins*, to have the liturgy not in the vulgar tongue. For in this, many other Christian churches do the same, which upon the peoples changing their language, keep still their liturgy in the ancient tongue, now scarce known to the people: As in the *Greek* church, who have their public service in the ancient, and pure *Greek*, which is so very different from the vulgar *Greek* now used by the people, that they understand but little of it. So amongst the *Maronites*, *Cophthites*, *Jacobites*, *Melchites*,

and *Georgians*, divine service is celebrated in the *Chaldee*, or *Syriac*; whilst the vulgar language to all these is the *Arabic*, or to the more *Easterly*, the *Persian*. However, while the public service amongst the *Romanists*, is in a tongue not vulgar; yet I find the people are not kept in ignorance of what is done: For the *French* have the whole *Missal* translated into their own language, by which they see, and understand all that is done at the altar. We have likewise several books in *English*, which contain the service of that church, and explain all that is performed, with *Latin* in one column, and *English* in the other, by which the people are enabled to accompany the priest, both in spirit and understanding, and know when to answer *Amen*. *Again, upon enquiry, I find the *Mafs* is not a *form of prayer*, like our liturgy, but it is an *action* or *offering*, in which the benefit of the congregation does not so much consist, in *understanding the words*, as in *knowing what is done*, which the most ignorant, and those that cannot read, are capable of, with a little care, and instruction ;

* The Roman *Missal* has been lately translated into English.
Ed. Lond.

tion; for this they are taught by the eye; and hence, if they are but in sight of the priest, they know how to accompany him through the whole service, though they hear not one word of what is said; because *actions* are known by *seeing*, as *words* are by *hearing*. This may look strange to such as are accustomed to a form of prayer only; but if it be matter of fact, the truth of it may be easily found. And if it be so found, then there may be hopes of this being no longer made an occasion of separation; since the concern is, of the people so understanding the service of the church, as to assist at it with understanding and devotion. If this be, then the reasons of the church of *Rome* will have some strength in them, which plead for the Mass in *Latin*; that so, as the church and its faith are one, so its worship, as much as may be, be one; that it be not subject to alteration, as it would be in vulgar languages; that the ministers of the altar changing residence and nation, may still be able to officiate, and serve the people; and the faithful leaving their country, or travelling, may still

find the divine service the same abroad as at home.

This as to the *Mafs*; for as to *family*, and *private devotions*, I find it is in the church of *Rome*, the same, as with us; all have their prayer-books in their own language, and hence are provided with means for performing all exercises of devotion, that can be helpful to salvation. Whence this point being summed up, That in the church of *Rome*, the people have all their prayer-books in their own language, and even the *Mafs* too, the difference does not seem so very great, but by a condescendence on one side or other (and it is in a yielding matter, to wit, of discipline) there may be hopes of an accommodation.

Quest. III. Whether it be not abominable in the church of *Rome* to forbid the use of the Bible, and thus to deprive the people of the food of life?

Upon examination, I find the council of *Trent* has given strict orders for establishing lectures, and expositions of holy writ, *Sess. 5. c. 1.* in collegiate churches, so as to empower the bishops to compel to it by forfeitures; as likewise in all monasteries,

monasteries, and colleges, giving encouragement to all masters, and scholars, who shall apply themselves to this study. And the reason it gives for this decree, is, *Ne cœlestis ille Sacrorum librorum Thesaurus, quem Spiritus Sanctus, summa liberalitate, hominibus tradidit, neglectus jaceat.* That so that heavenly treasure of holy scripture, with which the Holy Ghost, in his infinite bounty, has provided us, may not lie neglected.

Again, I find the same council has made a decree, *Sess. 4. Decr. de Edit. & usu Sacra lib.* That no body relying on their own private judgment presume to wrest the holy scriptures, in matters of faith, or manners, to their own private sense, contrary to that sense which the holy church has held, and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense of scripture, or contrary to the unanimous consent of the holy fathers.

But I no where find in the whole council, that the scripture is forbid in the vulgar tongue, nor that there is any danger of reading it. This is only one rule belonging to the *Index Expurgatorius*, bound up with the said council, but

no part of the council, nor ever approved by it, but published by pope *Pius IV.* and seems modestly composed, in referring this matter to the bishops and parish priests, to restrain those only from reading the Bible in the vulgar tongue, whom they see so self conceited, or rash, as to be in danger of wresting it to their own destruction.

Now as to the rule of interpreting scripture here prescribed according to the sense of the church, and the consent of the primitive fathers, it is what is approved in our church, and we have reason to wish, it had been better observed. And though we have no such restraint as here mentioned, yet while it falls only on the self-conceited and rash, I hope this will be no occasion of difference between the churches. And if it be insisted on, it is soon removed, since the communion of that church obliges not to the observance of the rule mentioned; as matter of fact demonstrates in the whole *Gallican* church, which is abundantly provided with several versions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, and the liberty of reading it. There is also an English

English translation of the holy Bible, made, and printed by the Roman catholics at *Doway* and *Rheims*. Whence it is evident, reading the scripture in the vulgar tongue, is allowed in that church, and consequently, the restraint mentioned, can be no sufficient exception, according to our second rule, against communicating with it.

C H A P. XII.

Of Tradition, Miracles, Implicit Faith, and Uncharitableness.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER it be not a great cheat, to impose tradition upon the world, for the doctrine of Christ, and the word of God?

The profession of faith obliges all in communion with the church of *Rome*, to receive traditions; but what traditions are these? Only *Apostolical*, and *Ecclesiastical* traditions; for so it is expressed in the said profession. And what is meant by these, is expounded in the council of *Trent. Sess. 4. Decr. de Can. Script. viz.* Such doctrines as were delivered by the

apostles, without being committed to writing, and being preserved by the church in all ages, have been delivered down to our days. So that by this article no more is required, but what we already agree to; that is, to receive whatever has been taught by the apostles.

Hence in that church is liberty of renouncing all vain, and superstitious traditions of men; and no submission required, but in such particulars, which have a very full and sufficient testimony of having been received from the apostles and purest ages of the church. In this principle, I know of no disagreement. And though there be not that accord, as to what these particulars are, yet here are good grounds for an accommodation, while both sides agree upon receiving whatever is warranted by the practice of the primitive church. Some of ours reckon up some of these unwritten traditions: as bishop *Montague* names Infant Baptism, and receiving in both kinds; and then adds, There are six hundred particulars of this kind, which have been instituted by God in the point of
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of religion, commanded, and used by the church, of which we own, that the scripture delivers, or teaches no such things. *Orig. p. 396.* We have others, who come to more particulars; as the number of canonical books, the apostles creed, the fast of lent, the Lord's day, the great festivals of Easter and Whit-Sunday; of not fasting on Sundays, of adoring towards the east, prostration before the altar, of signing the baptized with the cross, of receiving the eucharist fasting; these are acknowledged to be primitive, and even that it is in the power of the church, to ordain such rites and ceremonies; which, if it can be conceded, will be a means of healing all the breach in this point.

Quest. II. Whether the Romantic legends and counterfeit miracles in the church of *Rome*, are not proof against it, of its grand design being to deceive; and impose upon the world?

This point may be easily compounded, especially, since the church of *Rome* seems to join with the reformation, as to the particulars mentioned. The legends have been corrected long ago by

Baronius

Baronius and *Ribadeneira* ; * and for preventing all fraud, *Veron* in his *Rule of Faith*, c. 2. and c. 20. declares the legends to contain several things prejudicial to truth ; and that now being corrected, there may still remain something uncertain or false ; that they are only of human authority ; and therefore no other credit need be given to them, than to other prophane history. Now while this is declared, the occasion of deceit seems to be taken away, as likewise the question, by our second rule, since that church imposes on none the belief of such relations, and there is the same liberty of questioning them within that communion, as without.

It is much the same, as to *miracles* : The church of *Rome* raises a jealousy of them, and provides against imposture, as has been already hinted, c. 10. about relics, where the council of *Trent* gives order, that no miracles are to be admitted,

* The learned Jesuits at Antwerp, Bollandus and his Continuators, have lately given the *Acta Sanctorum*, enriched with curious remarks and dissertations. And the Rev. Alban Butler has still later written *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints*, from authentic Records, with Remarks critical and historical, in 12 Vols. 2d Ed. 1779.

ted, but what are examined, and approved by the bishop in consult with divines, and other pious men. Thus she undertakes to reform past disorders, and so far joins with us. And as for whatever miracles are approved, yet since she imposes not the belief of them on any of her communion, but leaves them at liberty to examine, and give credit according as they see grounds, hence according to our second rule, this point ought not to make a difference between us.

Quest. III. Whether leading people on with an implicit faith, and blindfold, be not unworthy of the Christian profession, and of that rational faculty which God has given us?

That article of our Christian faith, *I believe in the Holy Catholic Church*, shews, that we should be always in readiness to submit ourselves to the judgment of the catholic church. But otherwise, I find not an *Implicit Faith* in any public profession, or in any council. Hence I look upon the common dispute about it, as a school debate, which, according to our first rule, ought not to be made an occasion of difference. Secondly, I find, that

that it is the rule of that church to admit none into their communion, but such as make an explicit profession of faith, after a due information of every point; except in some cases of necessity, when this cannot be done. Thirdly, I find, according to what has been declared, *Chap. 11.* that care is taken by the orders of that church, that all should be well instructed in the principles of religion, and piety, and that the catechism *ad Parochos*, should be not only translated into the vulgar tongues, but likewise constantly expounded to the people: Which said catechism comprehends all matters both of controversy, piety, and morality. Now this being in order to an explicit faith, and knowledge of all that belongs to a Christian life, I think there is an agreement in this point; and if any take other methods of ignorance and blindness, it is not what that church encourages, and therefore, according to our second rule, ought not to be made the occasion of any difference.

Quest. IV. Whether the uncharitableness of the church of *Rome*, which damns all that are not of her communion, be not

not enough to abhor the communion of that church?

Upon examination into this point, I find, that in the close of the *Profession of Faith*, which all promoted to dignities in the church of *Rome*, are obliged to make, are these words: *Hanc veram Catholicam Fidem, extra quam nemo Salvus esse potest, quam profiteor. This true catholic faith, out of which no body can be saved, and which I now profess.* But so it is also in the Creed of *Athanasius*, which we say thirteen times a year. Besides, what are the contents of this profession? In the first place, there is the *Nicene Creed* at length, which we too use very often; and then are added the *Tridentin articles*. Now, while the *Whole Creed* is part of this faith, it may very well bear the foresaid close, *That out of this Faith none can be saved.* For this is what we consent to, though we approve not of the other articles that follow. I know some of the *Roman church* carry this saying so far, as to suppose all damned, that are out of their church. And yet others in the same communion, judge more favourably of such as are invincibly ignorant of theirs being the true church.

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This I have seen in an approved catechism. Where the question being put; *What is to be thought of those, who being invincibly ignorant of the true church, live a moral good life?* It is answered thus: *We must not be forward in condemning such, but leave them to the divine mercy, of which they seem not altogether unworthy.* Thus they differ in opinion; and therefore, since the uncharitableness mentioned in the question, is no where proposed as a point of faith in the *Roman* church, nor imposed on such as are admitted to her communion; hence I judge it, not to be of faith, but only of opinion, and consequently, according to our first rule, ought not to make a breach between us.

Especially, since no more is meant, but what *St. Paul* declares, that *heresies* and *schisms* are works of the flesh, which exclude from the kingdom of Heaven. And is little more than what is declared in our church, particularly by a considerable person, who has published this assertion, That God has made no covenant of mercy, but to those only, who are in the church: And that, as for those, who are without, we must leave them to the uncovenanted mercies of
God;

God; which, what they are, or how far they will extend, we know not. *Regal. p. 223. 1 Edit.* And what more is it, than we say of them in our book of *Homilies*, where in the third part of that against idolatry, it is declared, That *bishops and people, the laity and clergy, of whole Christendom (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think) have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God, and most damnable to man, and that by the space of eight hundred years, and more.* This comes but little short of what they say against us. And therefore, when both sides consider to what height things have been carried, I hope they will find it more according to charity, to compound the matter, than inflame the difference by such charges as these are.

C H A P. XIII.

Of leaving out one of the Commandments, of not keeping Faith with Heretics, and of doing Evil, that Good may come of it.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER it be not most abominable in the church of *Rome*, to
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leave out one of the commandments, and thus hide part of the law of God from the people, and this only to conceal its errors?

A short examination soon discovered to me the occasion of this question. For, upon perusing the catechisms commonly used in that church, I found two sorts; one very short for children; the other longer for youth. The former sort is so short, that none of the commandments, that have any length, are set down at length, as the second, third, fourth and fifth. Nay sometimes all of our second is quite left out, being as they say only an explication of the first. But in the other sort of catechisms, which are also in the hands of the people, the second commandment with the rest is set down full and entire: Hence it is plain, the leaving out the second commandment is no order of the church, requiring it to be so done; but the two tables of the law are had in that communion, as full as in ours; and consequently, whatever be the censure of the shorter catechisms, yet, according to our second rule, this ought to be no occasion of difference, since that church

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no where imposes those catechisms, but gives to all the liberty of the others.

Quest. II. Whether it be not a detestable principle in the church of *Rome* not to keep faith with heretics?

Upon due enquiry into this point I find the doctrine of divines in the church of *Rome*, as to this, is the same with ours. They all with one voice agree, that all lawful oaths and engagements are to be kept, whatever the person be, to whom they are made, without any regard to their religion; and there is nothing allowed by them to make void an oath with any protestant, but the same would invalidate it likewise with those of their own communion. Hear what the Jesuits themselves say in this matter, *Layman* is thus positive: *Dico 4to. Si catholici cum hereticis publicum fœdus ineant, non potest per auctoritatem pontificam solvi, aut relaxari. Theol. mor. l. 2. tr. 3. c. 12.* *Becanus* is still more particular: *Virtutes illæ:* Those virtues, says he, from whence arises the obligation of being faithful in what we have promised, equally oblige us, whether it be with catholics or heretics; because it is never
lawful

lawful to lie, never lawful to violate another's right, nor to do any injustice, nor to forswear. *De fid. Hæret. Serv. c. 7.* Thus runs the current of their divines and casuists: Whence it must be owned, that there is no necessity of a separate communion upon this account, since the same is taught on both sides. It must be likewise owned, that they acknowledge no imposing any doctrine contrary to this, since the discipline of that church does not allow any to run counter to it; and if it be not imposed (as matter of fact shews it is not) then, according to our second rule, this ought to be made no breach of communion.

Quest. III. Whether it be not a detestable principle in the church of *Rome*, to judge any evil lawful, so it be for the good of mother church, and not to stick at breaking of promises and vows, and doing evil, so that there be any hopes of good coming of it?

These are certainly most detestable principles; but upon examination into their councils, professions of faith, catechisms, divines, &c. I can find no such doctrine taught by them. But on
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the contrary, having looked over their treatises of morality, to which this subject belongs, I find them delivering the very same principles as we do. So that upon the question, of the conditions requisite for a human action to be good, they positively assert, That three perfections are required; viz. 1. That the object be good. 2. That the motive or end be good. 3. That the circumstances be good. And that if any of these be wanting, the action cannot be good; according to the common maxim, *Bonum ex integra causa; malum ex quocunque defectu*. This being their constant doctrine, we must own no occasion of difference upon this account.

Now if some matters of fact, acted by men of that communion, be considered, it is true one might then naturally judge, they have been carried on by such pernicious principles. But the deduction of principles from some matters of fact, is too rigid a logic for any church whatever to bear; and being not just in itself; it is what I think we ought not to press; especially since the doctrine of
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that church is otherwise evident, and it is no where required by her to approve of such practices, which have given the occasion of this charge. For thus, according to our second rule, this question ought to be laid by.

And this more especially, when there is evident matter of fact to demonstrate, they approve not such pernicious principles, but choose rather to suffer the most weighty inconveniences, than act by them. This seems evident by what has passed here with us. The penal laws against the papists, have excluded them for above these hundred years from many great advantages, which other subjects enjoy; and though by taking an *oath*, *test*, or *declaration*, or performing some outward act of religion, they might be exempt from all such penalties, and qualify themselves for doing great service both to their families and for the interest of their church; yet no prospect of private or public good, has been enough to make them subscribe any form, or do any religious action, which they judged to be unlawful, and if any
have

have done it, they have at the same time left the communion of that church, and thus have given demonstration, that it is not allowed by them, to break their oaths, nor subscribe forms, which they believe erroneous, nor do evil, for the good of their church, or that any other good may come of it; it being in their power at any time to do what will be for their own interest, and their church, if they will but seek it by such means, as they judge unlawful. This seems to me evidence enough of their principles, and consequently, that, upon this score, there is no necessity of separating communion.

C H A P. XIV.

Of murdering Protestants, of the Plots, Treasons, and Massacres by Papists.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER it be not a horrid principle in the papists, to think it a meritorious act to murder protestants?

Murder is certainly horrid; but after all the search I have made, I can find no such

such popery taught in the church of *Rome*. It is in no council, or profession of faith, or catechism, it is no where recommended, much less imposed upon any of that communion; and consequently, though great barbarities have been committed by papists; yet that church no where obliges any to partake in, or even approve them, therefore ought not, according to our second rule, be any obstruction to communion.

I have carefully perused their explanations of that commandment; *Thou shalt not kill*: Especially in the catechism *ad Parochos*, which is purposely composed by that church for the instruction of the people, and find there all murder to be as strictly forbid, as we can desire. There is shown how detestable a crime it is; how rigorously God has prohibited it; that they who murder, do strike at God himself, and with violent hands, as it were, make their attempt against him; there it is styled *detestabile scelus*, *immanis crudelitas*, & *diabolicus impetus*: detestable wickedness, a horrid, and barbarous cruelty, and diabolical violence, and nothing omitted, that is capable of imprint-

imprinting a horror of this crime: And this in general, without any regard to religion, but only to the effusion of human blood: Hence I must say, that as to this commandment, their doctrine is the same with ours, and there seems to me no necessity of a separate communion on this account.

Quest. II. Whether the barbarous murders, cruelties, and massacres committed by the papists on protestants, be not evidence of their principles in this point?

The very thought of these barbarities is horrid, and if I could find, that the communion of that church did oblige to partake in, or approve such practices, I should protest against all communication with it. But after all my best endeavours, I can find nothing, which obliges the members of that church to approve such cruelties; so that whatever encouragement they have had, yet this no where is proposed, and much less imposed on any; but all in that communion are as much at liberty for abhorring murder, and even those very barbarities which have been committed by papists, as we are in our church. Hence, with-

out looking farther into these sad histories, according to our second rule, there seems no necessity of separating on this account: Since a communion with that church, no where obliges to partake in, or approve such cruelties.

Quest. III. Whether so many plots, treasons, rebellions, murders of princes, and infinite other vile attempts managed and carried on by papists against protestants, be not enough to convince any of the principles of their religion, and to give us an abhorrence of all thoughts of communion with them?

There is horror enough in looking back into such bloody annals: But then it is to be considered, whether the character of a religion, and the true measure of its principles, are to be taken from the practices of such as have been members of it? It is to be considered, whether the unwarrantable, and wicked actions of the members of a church, are justly charged upon the church, to which they belong?

In resolving this point, I have recalled to mind the numberless treasons, rebellions, violence, cruelties, and barbarous
effusion

effusion of blood, such as stand recorded in undoubted history. And having reflected, who have been the persons engaged in them: As I find no nation in Christendom exempt, so likewise no sort, or division of Christians whatever: All have been actors in some of them; in many it has been papist against papist; in many, protestant against protestant; in many papist against protestant, and in many protestant against papist. Let the several changes and revolutions of government, that has been either effected, or attempted in most nations, be considered; let the treasons, plots and invasions, that have been made against lawful sovereigns, be called over. And as all religions are here concerned, so I ask, whether from such unlawful actions, can be taken a true measure of the respective religions, or of their principles? If it may, then I ask again, who will sling the first stone, while all are guilty; and though not alike, yet so, as not to be innocent? And if hence cannot be taken a just measure, then why should it be used as a measure, when it is none?

The Gun-powder Plot in Nov. 1605, is counted an eternal blemish to all papists. But does not the barbarous murder of King Charles I. in 1648, with the renouncing then, and, by act of their parliament, disinheriting for ever, as they thought, the whole family of the *Stuarts*, as equally affect all protestants? They who would know how they first tell their own story, may among others, see *The Catholique Apology, with a Reply*, &c. By a person of honour. The third edition, 1674, and *The Advocate of Christian Liberty*, 1673, and *The Roman Church Vindicated*, &c. London, 1674. From which last is taken the following account: The wicked undertakings of a few of that religion, does no more entitle the catholic body to that infamy, than *Poltröt's* murdering the Duke of *Guise*; or *Hubert's* burning of *London*; or *Beza's* open Rebellion against his lawful King in *France*; or *Knox's* conspiracy against the Queen Regent, &c. do entail that brand upon protestant religion: A truth King *James* was so well satisfied of, that his royal mouth becometh our compurgator against that unjust imputation,

putation, when, in his declaration against that plot, he saith, *That the generality of his Catholic subjects did abhor such a detestable conspiracy no less than himself.* Let the minister then learn that justice of his Majesty, not to throw his calumnies at random, at the innocent body, as well as guilty particulars; lest his envious partiality be made a precedent to atheistical spirits, to stile Judas's fact, an *apostolical conspiracy.*

The same author goes on: But why a *popish plot*? Were not all the engines of policy most diligently employed to discover the depth of that detestable attempt. *Baker*, pag. 565, and 595. And could all their wisdom find above thirteen *laymen* and four *Jesuits* (by their own account) of all that either were actors therein, or privy to the same? As you may read in *Speed*, (in King *James's* reign) and *Baker*, p. 593, and their printed *confessions*. Not one nobleman, not one of all the peers, nor any other of the catholic gentry, either knowing or approving of that wicked conspiracy; which persuasion is built upon this just ground (amongst others) viz. That those

had not tenderness enough, to leave any other undiscovered, whose conscience compelled them to expose their own confessors to their deserved penalty: Besides that *Speed*, p. 916, acknowledgeth, that the catholic lords were to have undergone the same barbarous fate with the rest: To which we may add, That *Osborn*, in his *Mem. of K. J.* p. 36, tells us, *That this plot was the treasurer's device.* So he.

Now if any thing be amiss in the form of prayer, to be used yearly upon the *fifth* day of *November*, or in that for the *thirtieth* of *January*, or whatever else is added to the *Book of Common Prayer*, forasmuch as these depend wholly upon the royal *mandate*, and not (as the *Common Prayer* itself does) upon the *parliament*, the remedy may be the more easily procured. For which, see what archbishop *Laud* says, in the *speech* often before mentioned, for his own vindication, against the innovations charged upon him: *The ninth innovation is, That two places are changed in the prayers set forth for the fifth of November: And ordered to be read (they say) by act of parliament.* To this
I say

I say *first*, It is a notorious untruth, that this *book* was *ordered* to be read by *act of parliament*. The *act of parliament* indeed is *printed* before it, and therein is a *command* for *prayers* and *thanksgivings* every *fifth of November*; but not one word or syllable for the *form of prayer*. That is left to the *church*, therefore here is no *innovation* against that *act of parliament*. And afterwards: *His Majesty*, (saith he) expressly commanded *me* to make the *alterations*, and see them *printed*; which is here noted, because I think it may be of good use, if well considered.

Thus then, I reason the case, and find the argument, either to involve all, or else come short of all. But laying this aside, I think the plain truth is this: That people of all religions, when they have either feared oppression, or have been solicitous to shake off any yoke, or have had their hopes of liberty raised by designing and ambitious men, have either rashly engaged, or under the cover of God's cause been deluded into unwarrantable actions, without considering how they squared with common princi-

ples, or at least, finding some reasons to dispense with them, in extraordinary exigencies.

Thus it has been with persons of all persuasions, whence I am inclined to judge, that such violent and wicked undertakings, are not generally to be laid to religion, but to ambition, passion, and party; that religion is pretended to strengthen the cause; and if religion has been really the occasion, that principles are then framed to serve the turn, but not to be made a rule, or imposed on all that belong to that communion; and though books have been writ, to justify such proceedings, yet still without obliging any to assent to such principles. Whether this be the case of all, I do not undertake to determine, but it seems to be that of the church of *Rome*. For, though many horrid facts have been committed by papists, and some of them have books to favour them, yet still that church no where requires any to approve either such facts, or the principles, by which they are; but there is the same liberty within that church, of disapproving, and dissenting from

from all such villanies, as there is for others that are without that pale: Hence, since there may be a communicating with that church, without joining in any wickedness acted by them; therefore, according to our second rule, this question ought not to make a separate communion.

C H A P. XV.

Of Antichrist, and the Idolatry of Rome.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER the Pope be Antichrist, and the Papists idolaters?

Bishop *Montague* is plain, as to the Antichrist mentioned in holy scripture: I profess, saith he, ingenuously, I am not of opinion, that the *Bishop of Rome* personally, is that *Antichrist*; nor yet that the bishops of *Rome* successively, are that Antichrist so spoken of. *Gag. p. 74, 75.* And so also to the Informers: Who concluded it, but yourselves to be flat *popery*, not to believe or preach that the *Pope* is that *Antichrist*? Or to profess the contrary, that he is *not* that

Antichrist? Who can find it to be the doctrine of the church of *England*? And what synod resolved it? Convocation assented to it? What parliament, law, proclamation, or edict, did ever command it to be professed, or have imposed penalty upon repugnants, or non-consentients unto it? *Ap. p. 143.*

And as to any thing of *idolatry*, or the common charge of *Antichrist*, Mr. *Thorn-dike* is positive against it: They, says he, that separate from the church of *Rome*, as idolaters, are thereby schismatics before God. *Just Weights and Measures, ch. 1.* And again: Let not them who charge the Pope to be *Antichrist*, and the papists idolaters, lead the people by the nose, to believe that they can prove their supposition when they cannot. *Ch. 2.*

And bishop *Parker*, speaking of this charge of *idolatry*, is also very plain: So black a crime, says he, as this, that is no less than renouncing God, is not lightly to be charged upon any party of Christians, not only because of the foulness of the calumny, but the barbarous consequences that may follow upon it,

to invite and warrant the rabble, whenever opportunity favours, to destroy the *Roman Catholics* and their *images*, as the *Israelites* were commanded to destroy the *Canaanites* and their idols. But before so bloody an indictment be preferred against the greatest part of *Christendom*, the nature of the thing ought to be well understood. The charge is too big for a *scolding word*. And how inconsistent soever *idolatry* may be with salvation, I fear so uncharitable a calumny (if it prove one) can be of no less damnable consequence. It is a piece of inhumanity, that outdoes the savageness of the *Cannibals* themselves, and damns at once both body and soul. And yet after all, we have no other ground for the bold conceit, than the crude and rash assertions of some popular divines, who have no other measures of truth or zeal, but hatred to popery; and therefore never spare for hard words against that church, and run up all objections against it into nothing less than atheism and blasphemy, of which *idolatry* is the greatest instance. *Reas. for Abrog. the Test.* pag. 72, 73.

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And afterwards, more particularly examining this charge as consisting of these three heads, 1. *The worship of images*; 2. *Adoration of the Host*; 3. *Invocation of saints*; he has these words worthy to be considered: But as to the first, the use of images in the worship of God, I cannot but admire at the confidence of these men, to make so bold a charge against them in general, when the images of the cherubim were commanded by God himself. *Exod. 25. 22.* They were the most solemn and sacred part of the Jewish religion; and therefore, though images, so far from idolatry, that God made them the *seat* of his presence, and from between them delivered his oracles; so that something more is required to make *idolatry*, than the *use of images*. This instance is so plain and obvious to every reader, there being nothing more remarkable in all the Old Testament, than the honour done to the cherubim, that it is a much greater wonder to me, that those men who advance the objection of idolatry so groundlessly, can so slightly rid themselves of so pregnant a
proof

proof against it. *Ib.* pag. 129, 130. And again: Till therefore it be proved that they worship images of *false Gods* as the *supreme Deities*, or that they worship the *true God* by *corporeal images* and *representations* of his divine nature, there is no footing for *idolatry* in Christendom. *Ib.* p. 133.

He goes on: As for the adoration of the Host, when they can prove it is given to it either as a *symbol* of a *false God*, or the *picture* of the *true one*, howsoever faulty it may be otherwise, it can be no idolatry. And as for the invocation of saints, unless they worship them as the *Supreme God*, the charge of *Idolatry* is an idle word, and the adoration itself that is given to them as saints, is a direct *protestation against Idolatry*, because it supposes a *superior Deity*, and that supposition cuts off the very being of *Idolatry*. *ib.* p. 133.

It will be needless to cite any other of our writers upon this subject, because these were eminent persons in our church: And though this great cry of antichristianism and idolatry, is so often repeated, even in the instances above-mentioned,

mentioned, that I could not but here take notice of it again ; yet surely, what is now said by these learned men, with that before noted to the same purpose in this essay, may by the help of our rules, fairly contribute to a friendly agreement also in this point.

C H A P. XVI.

Of Ceremonies, the Crucifix, and Lights on the Altar, Incense, Sign of the Cross, and Holy Water.

Quest. I. **W**HETHER there be not a number of unprofitable ceremonies in the church of *Roman*, which bring the New Law to the resemblance of the Old, and obscure the glory of God ?

This point may be easily composed, while it is in a matter, in which both sides allow a great latitude. The church of *Rome* allows a great difference of ceremonies within its communion ; as is manifest in its several rituals, which are different, according to the antient and immemorial custom of national churches, and even dioceses. The Eastern churches
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all differ in ceremonies from the West, and yet no difference of communion upon this account.

A great latitude is likewise allowed by our church, as may be seen in what is prefaced to our Common Prayer Book, concerning ceremonies, where having given a reason why some ceremonies are retained, and some laid by, it is thus added: In these our doings, we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe any thing, but to our own people only: For we think it convenient, that every country should use such ceremonies, as they shall think best, to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition.

This then is a point, in which both churches seem inclined to yield; and therefore, were there but a true desire of peace, there is likely to be no obstacle on this account.

Quest. II. What need is there for a crucifix, and lights upon the altar?

Some of our historians tell us, that queen *Elizabeth* had her altar, with crucifix,

cifix, lights and other adornments, as before used in her chapel, till reasons of state, more than religion removed them. And we now have altars, where may be seen in sacred characters, the sacred name, *Jehovah*, surrounded with a glory. Here are also, the two tables of the old law, with *Moses* and *Aaron*, at their sides. Yea, we have great candles too, contented with only saving ourselves the trouble and charge of lighting them.

Quest. III. Why is Incense now used, under the dispensation of the new law?

It is to raise devotion, to affect priest and people with the mysteriousness of the action to which it is applied, and to cause a pious esteem of it. Besides, it signifies, that our prayers ought to ascend as a sweet perfume in the sight of God. St. *Dionysius* mentions it. *Ecclesiastical Hier.* c. 3. And there seems nothing more plain, than what the Lord himself said, by the mouth of his prophet *Malachy*, foretelling the use hereof, in the time of the gospel: *From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down thereof, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and*
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in every place Incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering. Mal. I. II.

Quest. IV. Is not the frequent use of signing with the sign of the cross, a great matter of complaint?

In the *Alliance of Divine Offices*, c. 8. *Annot.* we find the use of this sign, at the healing of the Evil, in the reigns of king Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth. And our church still continuing it at *Baptism*, without condemning the more frequent use of it, as it shews there is no iniquity in the thing itself, so also, that the repetition thereof, is not unlawful, but may be good and convenient, according as circumstances, in the judgment of our superiors, shall determine it. I might quote bishop *Montague* and others, to justify the frequent use of the sign of the cross. But I would here only repeat a little of what the learned Dr. *Falkner*, one of great moderation, has said on this subject, in his *Libertas Ecclesiastica*, B. 2. C. 4. §. 2. where he begins with telling us in general, that the *sign of the cross*, if rightly understood, would appear to be of very good and profitable use. Then gives some account of the practice of
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the primitive church in the use of this sign, for a three-fold end and purpose.

1. As a *professing sign*, whereby they testified openly their honouring Christ crucified, either before them who denied the Christian name, or among themselves; or as our *Canon* expresseth it, they hereby made an outward shew and profession, even to the astonishment of the *Jews*, that they were not ashamed to acknowledge him for their Lord and Saviour, who died upon the cross. 2. This sign was most frequently used as an *expression of hope and trust in Christ crucified*, and of confidence in him, expectation of blessing from him, and supplication unto God by him. 3. The sign of the cross was also generally made upon the foreheads of them who *were received into the church*. The intent of which sign in this use thereof, was that the church did hereby *solemnly testify* those persons having relation to the *Christian society*, to stand obliged to *maintain the Christian profession* and life; and so far as concerned her authority, did hereby *dedicate or engage* them thereto, and *charge and require* those to be mindful thereof; and

and this was a token to *admonish* them, that they must not be *ashamed* to *confess* the Christian faith, and to *fight* under Christ's banner, and to serve and honour him. After which, he treats of this sign, as used in our church, in the office of baptism. And in all the instances, shews a great deal of good reading, for the proof and illustration of this subject. St. *Austin* (as there cited) saith in *Psalm* 141, *Usque adeo de cruce non erubescio, &c.* I am so far from being ashamed of the cross, that I do not put the cross of Christ in some hidden place, but carry it on my forehead. *Cyril* exhorteth, *Let us not be ashamed to confess him who was crucified; let the ~~sign~~ ^{sign} of the cross be confidently made upon the forehead with the finger.* And the use of this sign, was antiently very common in the actions of life, even in retirement and privacy; as is expressed by *Tertullian*, *de Car. Mil.* c. 3. *Ad uxor.* l. 2. c. 5. Thus St. *Chrysostom*, *ad Pop. Ant. Hom.* 21. directed the Christian when he went abroad, that he might be in safety under the divine protection, to *disclaim the devil, and express his adhering to Christ, with using the sign of the cross.* When *Julian*,

Julian, after his apostacy, was afrighted and terrified, while he thought to consult with the devil, as a remedy against his fears, *he signed himself with the sign of the cross* which *Nazianzen*, *Orat. 3.* expresseth with words, which shew his use of that sign, to be a declaration of *flying for aid, and expecting help from Christ, whom he persecuted*. Upon this account this sign was antiently used in the *working miracles*, as is expressed by *Nazianzen*, *Epiphanius*, and other fathers, as a visible testimony of confidence in Christ. Thus he, with a great deal more, which I have here omitted, because I think that this consideration of the sign of the cross, as being so useful, a short profession of faith, a prayer, and declaration of our trust in Christ, for great blessings, and against great evils, is enough to allay all heats about the superstitious uses thereof, and to cause such a good understanding between all concerned herein, that there may be no breach of communion, upon this score.

Quest. V. Can any people of sense, endure to hear of holy water, and stand
still

still without horror, to have it thrown on their faces?

Having had the concurrence of so many, in the points above mentioned, I did not think any one would startle at a dash of holy water. There is an early mention of holy water, with approbation, in *Numb.* 5. 17. This rite, now used, was aptly figured by the waters of expiation, which did sanctify and cleanse the polluted, *Numb.* 19. 18. It is encouraged by king *David*: *Asperges me Hyssopo, &c. Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.* Psalm 50, or 51. 7. And *St. Paul* warrants it: *Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving. For it is sanctified by the word of God, and prayer,* 1 Tim. 4. 4, 5. Where what the apostle speaks of the benediction of meats, may be well applied to any thing that may be sanctified, offered, and consecrated to God. *St. Clement* tells us that this holy water, is an apostolical constitution. He says that *St. Matthew* did institute the use of it, and he relates the manner of his blessing it.

it. *Const. Apost. l. 8. c. 39.* Pope *Alexander I.* the sixth pope from *St. Peter*, made a decree about it, but such as supposed the use of it before. *Aquam sale conspersam populis benedicimus, &c.* We bless for the people, water with salt, that all who are sprinkled therewith, may be sanctified and purified; and which we command all priests to do. So it was not then his invention, but a custom. And his reasons for the use of it, are these: If the ashes of an heifer, being sprinkled with blood, did sanctify and cleanse the people, much more, water sprinkled with salt, and sanctified by divine prayers. And if the sterility of the waters were healed by the prophet *Elisha*, with salt sprinkled therein, by how much more, being sanctified by divine prayer, may it take away the sterility of human things, and avert the snares of the devil, and defend men from phantastic wiles, and hallow those that are defiled. And again: If we doubt not but that the sick were healed by the touch of our Saviour's garments, how much more, by virtue of his words, may the elements, divinely hallowed, bring health of body. *St. Basil the Great*, reckons it among the apostolical traditions. *Lib. de Sp. S. C. 27.*

And

And so also for the effects of it, St. *Epiphanius* shews, that *Joseph*, a convert Jew, did dissolve incantations by it. *Har.* 30. And St. *Hierome* doth testify the same of St. *Hilarion*. *Hier. in Vit. Hilar.* Besides, St. *Bernard* witnesseth, that St. *Malachias* therewith, cured a frantic man, and a woman that had a grievous cancer. *Bern. in Vit. Malac.* This shews the use antient and profitable. And it is certain that the holy fathers at least believed it to be good, both for body and soul.

In our church, there is enough to abate our prejudices against the hallowing, that is, the sanctifying of waters, in those words of our public office for baptism: Almighty and everlasting God, who by the baptism of thy well-beloved son Jesus Christ in the river *Jordan*, didst sanctify water, to the mystical washing away of sin. And in the liturgy for *Scotland*, it is added: Sanctify this fountain of baptism, thou which art the sanctifier of all things. Bishop *Andrews*, in his *strictures* upon the two miracles of *Joseph* the convert Jew, in *Epiphanius*, and *Marcellus*, the bishop of *Apamea*, in
Theodoret,

Theodoret, produced by cardinal *Perron*, on this subject, does not deny them, but only says, that if they were so done, it was rather by virtue of the faith in Christ, than of the *water* or *sign*; known many times since, to have had no such effect. Adding, that two miracles, without any canon to enjoin it, will not conclude any rule for the practice of it, in the church. *Strict.* p. 13. Now since this faith is equally an ingredient in all such miracles, so that our Saviour himself, could do nothing among some people, because of their unbelief: And every body knows, that the most powerful antidote, has not always the same effect: Since, if these two miracles be allowed, there are many more will be brought upon the same authority, and one of these alone, is sufficient: Since, whether there be a canon, or no canon for it, it may be a custom and practice in the church, and that too, for good purposes, to remind us of our baptism, and to fortify us against the illusions of evil spirits: Yea, since our bishop here, shews but little or no dislike thereof, what does he herein, but *dispose* us to believe

believe it of good use? Which I am the more inclined to think he intended, because here, but a little before, p. 111. on such another occasion, he does as feintly oppose the cardinal, about *mingling of wine with water in the Eucharist*. When as it is observed, in his own *form* of consecrating a church or chapel, that then, in the celebration of this sacrament, when left to his own reasoning, he used this mingling himself. Why not then the hallowed water? The devil indeed abhors it, because he has found the power and virtue of it, to his own confusion. Which we all must own, having declared it to the whole world, in that our national proverb, where in reference to one that greatly heats any thing, it is usually said, *He loves it, as the devil loves holy water*. So that after all, unless we would take an ill example, it is hoped, that that even this point, as the rest, according to our rules, may be no longer a cause of disunion.

C H A P. XVII.

*Of the great Averseness in the Romanists,
against the English Ministry.*

Quest. I. **W**HETHER there may not upon a fair proposal, be a full agreement about the ministry of our church?

This is a matter of very great concern, and such differences there are upon this account, as between our church and the Dissenters, so between the Romanists and us, that unless there be an accommodation here, it will be vain to hope for Catholic communion.

In a late *essay towards a comprehension*, there is a *proposal* offered, in behalf of the present Dissenting ministers, to this effect: That, without any new ordination to *priesthood*, they shall be by laying on of the hands of the bishop only, and by the delivery of the *bible* unto them, (I suppose upon their knees) particularly authorized to execute that office in that particular congregation, to which they are lawfully appointed, in those words
of

of our ordinal, *Take thou authority to preach the word, &c.*

Then follow the *arguings* on both sides: The church-men plead, that the ordination of the Dissenters is done in a schism, and without any lawful authority, in opposition to the established order of the national church; and that it is done without the consent and concurrence of the bishop, who in the *English* church has the chief jurisdiction in the ecclesiastical affairs, without whose concurrence therefore, the ordination received from the hands of the Dissenters, as null in itself, and contrary to the established order and government of the church of *England*, ought to be reiterated and renewed.

The Dissenters on the other hand, plead, That supposing they were ordained in a schism, yet their ordination is valid and good, being done by the Presbytery, or those who execute the office of Presbyters, in that way which is required by the scriptures, *viz.* By fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands. That therefore, there is the same reason for the re-baptizing of those, who are not

baptized by those of the church of *England*, which yet they do not allow of, as there is for re-ordaining those who are not ordained by the church-men. They argue farther, That many of the reformed churches abroad, ordain their ministers by the same church officers, as the Dissenters do in *England*; and that therefore, if the ordination of Dissenters here in *England* be null, theirs also must be null; and by consequence they can have no ordinances, and are no churches, as having no ministers, who are an integral part of the visible church. That therefore though (if the consequence of the action reached no farther than themselves) they might for peace sake submit to be re-ordained; yet they can never be induced to do that which is, in effect, to unchurch so great a part of the reformation, and which must, of necessity, put a weapon into the hands of the Papists against them; for which reasons, though they would do what lies in them for the promoting the peace and welfare of our *English Israel*, they cannot submit to be re-ordained.

But

But then withal, it is to be considered, that there are also as great debates between us and the *Romanists*, upon this point. For though I cannot willingly believe but that our orders are good: Because in the 36th article of religion, our church does tell us, that the ordinal, or book of consecration and ordering, set forth in the time of King *Edward VI.* and at the same time confirmed by authority of parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering; without any thing of itself superstitious, and ungodly. And therefore, they decree all such as are consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered. And there was a dispensation in behalf of King *Edward's* clergy, granted by Cardinal *Pole*, and confirmed by the Pope, in the reign of Queen *Mary*. And under Queen *Elizabeth*, there was besides patents, an act of parliament, 8 *Elizabeth*, to put an end to the disputes about her clergy. And the ordinal was made better under King *Charles II.* And we have necessity to plead for us. And our

orders have, with great shew of reason, been vindicated by Mr. *Mason*, Archbishop *Bramhall*, Bishop *Fern*, Bishop *Burnet*, Dr. *Saywell*, Dr. *Fuller*, Mr. *Brown*, and others, in great numbers. Yea, our orders, have been sometimes owned, even by some of the *Roman* communion. Yet, on the other part, it is likewise urged with great earnestness, that in the first parliament of *Queen Mary*, all consecrations which had been made according to the ordinal of *Edward* the sixth, were declared to be null and void. Which is taken notice of by Dr. *Heylin*, in his *History of the Reformation*. And soon after, the Bishops procured from the *Queen* an *Injunction* to all the ordinaries in the realm, to execute certain articles, wherein it was declared, that such persons as had been promoted to any orders after the new sort and fashion of orders, were not ordained *in very deed*. Which Mr. *Fox* mentions in his *Act. and Mon. Par. 2.* and thereupon in the *Index* makes this note: *Ministers revolting to Popery, must with their new religion have new orders.* And it is further said, that whatever the dispensation was, it was the

the Papal power, and we are to thank the Pope and Cardinal for it; that it supposes a great defect in that clergy, but extended only to such, as had been ordained after the antient and catholic manner, in the time of schism, as appears even by the degradations of *Ridley*, and *Hooper*, only from their priesthood, and not from episcopacy, because not allowed to be Bishops; and in that, as for Mr. *Bradford*, made priest by the new form, they did not degrade him at all, but treated him as a meer Laic; the orders conferred by the new ordinal, being then rejected as not good. And they were made worse under Queen *Elizabeth*, if the story of the Nag's-Head, or what the Reverend Mr. *St.* has wrote about the Consecrators then, be true. Farther demonstrated by Bishop *Bonner's* plea; so that there was no help, but by the act of parliament, 8 *Elizabeth*, which yet as the patents, is thought to make the case worse. And worse still, if the report also of the non-baptism of the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or of his latitudinarian principle, may pass. Besides that they say, the emendation of

the ordinal came too late. And they will not allow of any necessity to be pleaded for us. And it is matter of fact, that our orders are not allowed by the church of *Rome*, but though they hold re-ordination to be a sacrilege, they own not our ministers that go over to them, to be priests, till they be ordained by them, as if never ordained before. And there are several books they have written too against our orders; such are, *Protestants demonstrations against Protestant ministers*. And, *The treatise with reflection upon the nullity of the English Protestants church and clergy*. And, *The nullity of the prelatique clergy, and church of England*. Both the *Erastus's*, - *The Relation of the English Reformation*, and several others, before and since them, too many to be here set down. And as for those few of that communion, that have at any time spoke favourably of our orders, we are told, that their charity was mistaken therein, and they were under the displeasure of their church, or shrewdly suspected.

It is here also to be noted, that Mr. *St.* abovementioned, who is eminent for

for his zeal in religion, has, notwithstanding his orders, thought fit, to insist upon an extraordinary *call* to the ministry: Though indeed, I do not hear of any miracle he has yet done, to ascertain it; and an uncertain call, as an uncertain clergy, and an uncertain church, can give no comfortable assurance to us.

This certainly is to be well considered. The more, because the famous Mr. *Dodwell*, whom we ought to honour for his learning, is very positive, that where they want episcopal ordination, they have no ministry, no sacrament, no church, are out of the covenant of grace, and hope of salvation.

What then is to be done here on our side? What to make us all easy in this point? Methinks by our own rules, there may be some expedient, and a good accommodation, if we would take care, not to let ignorance, prejudice and passion, blind us, or hinder any good design; not to be tied up to any faction, but to embrace truth wherever we meet it. Unity among protestants only, if it were possible to be had, would not serve the ends of our holy religion. We

should all of us endeavour a more catholic union, that there may be an universal peace, over the whole Christian world. It is therefore here, with the greatest submission to superiors, and others, most humbly asked, why upon our agreement in the other instances, there may not, without lessening the honour of our church, or making any unbecoming condescensions, be a modest, Christian address to his Holiness, who is generally looked upon, as the common Father of Christendom : whom King *James I.* owned Patriarch of the West, and his church our mother church ; whom our writers, Bishops and others, often mention, as they do Cardinal *Pole* too, with respect at least on this occasion, for the kindness we think done us, by the dispensation, that was granted to King *Edward's* clergy, from whence the succession of our present ministry is derived : to consider now our plea, and to allow, if it may be done, our present orders, or to ordain us only conditionally as it is usual to baptize conditionally in the case of a doubtful, or much suspected baptism. By this all interests may be served.

served. Our Bishops and the whole clergy, may be secured of their places, profits, and honours, and may also, without scruple, exercise all their ministerial functions. And then the laity too may be all at ease: they may safely disburthen themselves, trust their souls with their spiritual guides, and receive their benedictions with comfort.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Conclusion.

I Should remind those concerned herein, that not only the word *mass*, as observed before, but *priests* and *altars*, with their usual *vestures* and *ornaments*, *sacrifice*, *paten* and *corporas*, *chalice* with *wine* and *water*, *communion* in *one kind* in case of necessity, *bread* made in the form of a *wafer*, and after consecration taken at the priest's hands, by the people, in their mouths, *reservation* of the sacrament, *triple mersions*, *chrysoms*, and *oils*, commemoration of the glorious and most blessed Virgin *Mary*, *holy patriarchs*, *prophets*,
apostles

apostles and martyrs, invocation of angels, so far as to beseech God to command our prayers and supplications, by their ministry, to be brought up into his holy tabernacle, before the sight of his Divine Majesty, prayers for the dead, extreme unction, crossings, and other things now in dispute, were retained in the first liturgy of king Edward VI. A liturgy, which the statute that enacted it, 2 and 3 Ed. 6. c. 1. says, was made by the archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops, and other learned men of this realm, having as well eye and respect to the most sincere, and pure Christian religion taught in the scripture, as to the primitive church. And which the same statute says also, was by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one agreement, concluded, set forth, and delivered to his majesty, to his great comfort and quietness of mind. A liturgy, which this king Edward himself recommended in his message, written the 8th of July, in the third year of his reign, to the rebels of Cornwall and Devonshire, then disgusted at it, in these words: For the mass, (so it is here called as in the book itself, and also in the statute that enforced it, and in
the

the king's injunctions) *We assure you, no small study and travel hath been spent by all the learned clergy therein, and to avoid all contention thereof, it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, as holy fathers delivered it: indeed altered from that which the popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it.* A liturgy, which the statute, 3 and 4 Ed. 6. c. 10. represents as a godly order, agreeable to the order of the primitive church, therein being nothing to be read, but the very pure word of God, or what is evidently grounded upon the same. And which, even the statute, that made it give way to another, 5 and 6 Edward 6. c. 1. could not forbear saying, that it was a very godly order, agreeable to the word of God, and the primitive church, very comfortable to all good people, desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm. Soon after also, saying, *That the doubts risen in the use and exercise of it, were rather by the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers, than of any other worldly cause.* A liturgy, the more esteemed, because some of its compilers, before admired for their learning and discretion, have had the honour
too,

too, to be reckoned among our *martyrs*. A liturgy, which archbishop *Bancroft*, of *Canterbury*, speaking thereof in his sermon preached at *St. Paul's Cross*, 1588, affirmed to have been published first, *with such approbation, as that it was accounted the work of God*. A liturgy, which many have wished to be restored; but none more passionately than Mr. *St.* who in favour thereof, has exposed the other, for a *deformed, disordered, Cranmerian changing*; and not spared to charge our church, with *sacrilege, heresy and schism*. God forbid we should give any occasion for this! But hence we may take hope, that upon reflection hereon, since this liturgy is so greatly desired; is cleared from what the popes of *Rome* had for lucre brought to it; has been declared the work of God, concluded by the aid of the Holy Ghost, &c.; the several instances above noted therein, and indeed, all the points more largely discoursed on in this essay, may at length be fairly agreed on. And which seems now, the sooner to be expected, because a great prelate, in his late printed speech, has already thought fit, in some measure, to
prepare

prepare the world for it, by telling it so publicly, that there is a proposal made by one who calls himself a *High Churchman*, that a treaty may be set on foot between our convocation, and the assembly of the clergy of *France*, and that we should abate the regal supremacy, and they the papal, then fancying all other matters would be easily adjusted.

The learned proposer can answer for himself. What I desire leave to say, is this: That having gone through the principal points of controversy, that have kept open the breach between the two churches ever since the first division, and compared them with our rules of peace, which all churches seem under a necessity of approving; I cannot find, but the far greater part of them ought to be laid aside: and as for the rest, they are so few, that as I cannot but think it an unhappiness that churches should be divided upon this account; so I cannot but hope, if some learned, and zealous lovers of peace, were commissioned on both sides, by those in power, to enquire into this matter, they might find means to compound our differences therein,

therein, and take away the great scandal of Christendom, occasioned by our divisions.

But however, while I have made use of these rules, offered to our Dissenters, I do not pretend, that the case of our church, in respect to the church of *Rome*, is the same with that of our Dissenters, in respect of the church of *England*; but I only plead so far, that since these are rules proper for extinguishing those unnatural heats, and animosities, which have long been the reproach of Christians, they may so far be made use of here, as they may contribute to this end: hoping, that charity will accept of them, in order to lessen our disputes, without making comparison, whether they press in all cases alike.

One case is too plain, that there are great schisms amongst Christians, to the scandal of their profession, and to the injury of all religion, and that wherever the fault be, it is not only that part suffers, but likewise all the rest; since the mischiefs, and scandals of schisms, spread far beyond the guilt. Hence, I think, it ought to be a common

mon concern, to see if there be any expedients of peace, and to try, how far they will go, not only for healing the breach on one side, but on all; that so, greater may be the glory of peace.

This is what I have attempted, and it being only by way of an essay, I hope mistakes in it will be the more pardonable; since I assert nothing, but only offer what I have done, as a proposal to those whose leisure and charity, will encourage them to make a more strict scrutiny in these particulars. Into the hands of those I recommend these few sheets; making it my earnest request to them, to promote this design, as far as it is found serviceable to peace and truth; and charitably to inform me of my mistake, if by over-sight in such variety of matter, I have said any thing that may do service to error.

For, I declare (if I know my own heart) there is not any one error in the world, which I desire should be benefited by my writing. I desire peace, it is true, and the communion of our church to be extended, but not at the price of error. Though I cannot but
fear,

fear, some will take offence at what I have done, and arraign me of this very thing, even of making way for error, because I seem to speak in favour of popery, and lessen the horror of its errors. But I hope these will give the cause a rehearsing, or examine it again, before they pronounce so severely upon me.

If they will do thus, I hope, they will find, that my business all along is to examine, what are the errors of popery, and which are the points, in which we cannot join. I have considered all its idolatry, superstition, cruelties, barbarities, massacres, &c. And I do declare from my heart, that these are most hateful both to God and man, and that there is no joining with these, but by renouncing both Christianity and reason. Who can desire more?

Well, but I have gone farther, and asserted, that the church of *Rome* does not require any to assent to these abominations, and thus have lessened the deformity of popery. It is true, I have examined, what are the terms upon which the church of *Rome* offers communion; I have considered what it demands,
what

what it imposes, what are the articles to which it exacts a submission. But then, I desire it may be considered, this was the very thing I undertook; for my business was to see, if there was a possibility of enlarging the communion of our church. This could not be done, but by enquiring, What was the communion of that most considerable division from us, which makes up the church of *Rome*, and seeing what she imposes on her members. This enquiry then I made, and accordingly I have made a report of what I found; setting down those particulars, to which she demands assent: And where she demands none, I have likewise declared it according to truth. This then was necessary, since no peace can be made, but by examining the terms proposed by those, with whom we are at difference.

Here then it was, that carried by the desire of an universal peace, and of that catholic communion, which was the glory of the primitive church of Christ: I enquired of the church of *Rome*, what were the conditions of peace with her.

I enquired,

I enquired, Whether she demands an assent to, or an approbation of those many plots, treasons, murders, cruelties, barbarities, &c. that have been carried on by papists, to the effusion of so much Christian blood? And I found that she demands no such assent, or approbation; but that those that are in her communion, may as freely and heartily detest them, as in any other communion whatever. Now this owns the facts to be of papists, and to be unchristian; but it owns too, that it is no part of their religion to approve them. And if this be true, why should it not be owned? For my part, I confess, it is a comfort to me to find it so; since there is so much of difference removed out of the way, and so much more hopes of peace. Those that are charmed with the deformity of schism amongst Christians, may shew a zeal in widening the breach: but to me, I own, it looks so scandalous, that I am glad to find it lessened.

I enquired, Whether she demands an assent to the deposing and king-killing doctrine? And I found no such thing required; but that whatever has been writ,

or

or done by any of that church, yet that her communion is open to such as oppose all such principles: And that any one may as heartily disown them in that church, as out of it. I was glad to find this too, since in this, there is so much occasion of schism, taken out of the way: And there may be communion with that church, without approving such doctrines.

I enquired, Whether she demands an assent to those many abuses, corruptions, superstitions, which had crept in, to the scandal of believers, and gave an occasion to the first thoughts of a reformation? And I found a great part of these confessed by her, to be abuses; that she is so far from demanding an assent, that she joins with the reformation in condemning them, and in the council of *Trent*, gives order for their amendment. I was glad to find this too, since this is so far a preparation for peace, whilst the communion with that church, requires the condemnation of the great part of those corruptions, which the reformation condemns.

I en-

I enquired, Whether she demands an assent to the various opinions of school-men, to the loose opinions of the casuists, to the vices, ambition, and covetousness, of the churchmen, or of the Roman court? And I found that no assent was required to any of these; but that within her communion, there was the same liberty of dissenting from all these, as without her pale. I was glad to find this too, because here are so many stumbling-blocks removed out of the way; and none of these things are a hinderance to communion.

I enquired, Whether in the church of *Rome*, there was not pardon of sins for money; pardon for unfaken sins; whether ignorance was not encouraged, and a liberty of breaking all oaths? And I found, notwithstanding many abuses, that in the church of *Rome*, is taught the same, as to all these points, which we teach in the church of *England*; and that communicating with the church of *Rome*, does not oblige us to quit any thing of what we now believe, and hold as to these particulars.

I en-

I enquired, Whether communion with the church of *Rome*, obliged any to forsake God, or Christ Jesus, or his gospel, or the commandments? And I found the same creed, the same commandments, and the same gospel professed, and taught in the church of *Rome*, as with us. That in the church of *Rome*, they are taught to love God above all things, to seek him before all things, to put their whole trust in God, to believe in Christ, their only Redeemer and Mediator; through whose merits, all things are to be obtained of God, and without whom, nothing can be obtained. That, notwithstanding all former prohibitions, the word of God is freely read by the people, in her communion; and that by communicating with her, there is no necessity of changing any thing of what we now believe and practise, as to these particulars.

I enquired, Whether national churches in communion with *Rome*, must be stripped of all the antient liberties, and privileges belonging to them; and whether princes in the same communion, must of consequence surrender themselves to the beck of the Pope, to be trampled

trampled on according to his pleasure? And I found, that in the Roman communion, both national churches and states, may take the same liberty of maintaining their authority, privileges, and immunities, and stand as resolutely against all papal usurpations, as if they owned no prerogative of power in that see.

I enquired at length into those points, in which the two churches differ; and having strictly examined what the church of *Rome* teaches in these particulars, and having separated her doctrine from all school-opinions, and practical abuses, I found the difference in some points, to be little more than in *terms*, and that by eminent and leading men in our own church, is approved, and taught the very same, in substance, at least, which is taught by the church of *Rome*.

This, I own, was a satisfaction to me; for the sentiments of such great men, I hoped, might be a means of compounding these points, and taking away the scandal of division, that is between us. Not that I go so far, as to impose the particular sentiments of such our prelates

lates or doctors, upon our church, as if it were her general and approved doctrine; for I know it is not. But my hopes were thus raised, that there might be some favourable opinion of such doctrines, since they were maintained and taught as primitive truths, by pastors and prelates of our own church, being men of such a character, that their piety and learning, and their particular industry in enquiring into the primitive church, challenge a veneration from all; or at least, that seeing such doctrines asserted by prelates of our own church, we might consider, whether it be reasonable to separate from a church for holding and teaching such doctrines, which at the same time are publicly taught by our own pastors, and tolerated in them without censure? Here, I confess, was my encouragement. For since all schism in the sense of the primitive church, is declared so damnable, and all Christianity suffers from the mischiefs of it, I could not but hope, that whatever is tolerable, would be judged fit to be tolerated, upon so pressing a motive, as that is, of removing division, and re-

establiſhing catholic communion in the Christian world. Which communion, I cannot but think, might be effected at leaſt, between theſe two churches, by proceeding upon this foot alone, of conſidering what is tolerated on either ſide: For by what I obſerve, ſo much is tolerated on both ſides, that there would be found very little difference between the churches, if they were to be brought as near together, as theſe mutual condeſcensions would give them leave. For it is not in the Gallican church only popery is taught with this moderation, as has been ſtated in this eſſay, but throughout the whole extent of that church, communion is offered upon the ſame terms, that is, it is no where exacted of any (not even in *Rome* itſelf, under the Pope's noſe) to aſſent to the exceſs of the Pope's ſupremacy, nor to his infallibility, nor to his depoſing power, &c. as may be ſeen in Pope *Pius's* bull, and profeſſion, to which whoever ſubſcribes, as there ordered, is qualified for any church preferment, and yet in this there is not one word of theſe doctrines. So that whether in *France*, or out of *France*, theſe are no terms of communion,

nion, nor is any assent either asked or required to them.

Having thus found things, I have published them as I found them; and if it gives offence to any at first sight; yet, I hope, upon better consideration, it will prove to the satisfaction of all, who have a true sense of religion, or any compassion for the unhappy state of Christendom. All these must be sensible that *divisions* are the misfortune of the church, and the visible marks of God's just indignation against us; whilst vice, and errors, atheism, and irreligion make such advantage of them: and consequently, must be satisfied, as in the prospect of a public good, to find any overtures made for removing the great differences, that have been so long between us, and that most considerable body of Christians in communion with the Roman see.

If there could be no such peace proposed, but by approving, or uniting with those corruptions and impieties, found in that communion, the proposal would then be no service to Christianity, and war would be much better than peace. But since, upon making enquiry, it appears, that all such impieties may be,

and are, as fully renounced by members of that church, as by ours: since many others are no more than school opinions, or corrupt practices, which none in that communion are bound to approve: since the points in differences, are only speculative doctrines, and many of these even favoured by learned men of our own side: Must not this be a satisfaction to find, that in that great division of Christians, which has been kept up so many years between the church of *England*, and the church of *Rome*, with so much of unchristian heats, there seem to be but very few points, which keep open the breach: That above three parts of those debates may be laid aside, which have hitherto served to exasperate, and alienate our minds from all thoughts of peace: That the church of *Rome* does not insist upon those hard terms, which have been judged inconsistent with common Christianity, but leaves all to the liberty of renouncing them: That there is no need of joining in any one of those notorious abominations fixed upon her, for joining in her communion.

Since this, I say, appears, must not this be a comfort to all lovers of peace,

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to see, that where there has been the greatest division, the strangest animosities, the most disedifying heats; there now appear so many differences removed, and so great a preparation for accommodating whatever debates are yet left between them? I own it again, it is a comfort to me, and I should be heartily glad to see this reconciling method so far pursued by men of power, and zeal, till there appear those most desirable effects of catholic communion, and an universal peace.

To give encouragement to this great work, and shew these notions to be better built, than on my private reasoning, I must here declare, that, though it has been my labour, for clearness sake, to bring this variety of questions to the foregoing rules; yet that the main substance of this Essay, was suggested by that man of peace, the learned, and industrious *Grotius*, who having fully examined into the occasions of the reformation, gave his judgment of them, and plainly discovered even so long ago, that he thought the difference between the church of *Rome*, and the reformed churches,

churches, not to be greater than I have here hinted, and consequently, that an accommodation was very possible, if the difficulty were not greater from the indisposition of mens minds, than from the real debates that are between them. Hear it in his own words, as translated, and printed, out of his *Vote* for the church's peace.

I observed, says he, 1. That by the school-men (more skilful in *Aristotle's* philosophy, than in the holy scripture, and those antient writers, that illustrated Christian religion, both in *Greek* and *Latin*) many doctrines were introduced by a certain liberty of argumentation, not by authority of universal councils. 2. That the doctrines established in the councils, were not by the school-men commodiously explained. 3. That amongst the prelates of the church, such pride, and avarice, and ill manners had prevailed, that they were not solicitous, neither to inculcate those good doctrines to the people, as was fit, nor to correct the vices of the people, but took advantage, and made a gain of the peoples ignorance, and of their superstition, the daughter

daughter of ignorance, and nurse of vices. 4. That antient doctrine being thus over-clouded, partly appeared not, partly being discoloured, seemed other than it was. Then judged I, that this was the cause, why there was many ages since, desired a reformation, that is a repurgation of doctrine, both from the scholastic trifles, and disputes, and from those mists, which overshadowed it: And why at last (the complaints of Kings, and learned men having been long in vain) some Kings ill used by some of the Popes, and elsewhere private persons, set themselves about such a reformation, as they could devise. But yet this had not the desired success; for in several places were framed several confessions, and contradictory; and not only the parties that were made, could never close, but also new little parties sprung up every day, so many, that none can number them. Yea, credible it is, that new will arise perpetually, so fruitful is the matter and occasion of them.

Now, whoever will reflect upon this short relation, must observe three principal

principal occasions for undertaking the reformation. 1. Extravagant school opinions. 2. The doctrines of general councils not commodiously explained by school-men. 3. The pride, avarice, and neglect of the prelates of the church of *Rome*. By which three means, the doctrine of the church, partly was overclouded, and partly it appeared other than it was. Hence a reformation was desired; and what was this reformation to be? A repurgation of doctrine from the *scholastic trifles*, and from the *mists that overshadowed it*.—This is the judgment of this great man, who had spent so many years in examining into this matter: And now, in his judgment, what is the real difference between the church of *Rome*, and the reformed churches? The only difference is in *school opinions, incommodious explications, and the dis-edifying lives of the prelates*.

But it is not by this learned foreigner only, is given hopes of an accommodation; for I have found encouragement at home, both from our own church, and likewise from Dissenters. I name here only one, to represent each party,

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viz. Archbishop *Bramhall* for the church, and Mr. *Baxter* for the Dissenters. The former I find thus cited, and in these words making his declaration: A great many of these controversies, which raised the highest animosities among Christians at the first reformation, are laid aside by moderate and judicious persons of both parties, without any miracle, and are kept on foot by some blunderers, who follow the old mode, when the fashion is grown out of date, either out of prejudice, or pride, or want of judgment, or all together. And as many controversies of the greatest magnitude, are already as good as reconciled, so more may be. There is no opposition to be made against their evident truth.

And Mr. *Baxter* thus in his life penned by himself: My censures of the papists do much differ from what they were at first: I then thought that their errors in the doctrines of Faith, were their most dangerous mistakes; as in the points of merits, justification by works, assurance of salvation, the nature of faith, &c. But now I am assured, that their *misexpressions*, and *misunderstandings* of

of us, with our *mistakings* of them, and *inconvenient expressing* our opinions, hath made the difference in these points to appear much greater than they are, and that in some of them, it is next to none at all. But the great and unreconcilable differences lie in their church tyranny, and usurpations, and in their great corruptions, and abasement of God's worship, together with their befriending ignorance, and vice. At first, I thought, that Mr. *Perkins* well proved, that a papist cannot go beyond a reprobate; but now I doubt not, but God hath *many sanctified ones* amongst them, who have received the doctrine of Christianity so practically, that their contradictory errors prevail not against them, to hinder their love of God, and their salvation. Alas, at first, it would disgrace any doctrine with me, if I did but hear it called *Popery*, and *Anti-Christian*, but I have long learned to be more impartial, and to dislike men for bad doctrine, rather than the doctrine for the men, and to know, that Satan can use even the names of *Popery* and *Anti-Christ* against the *truth*.

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Thus these two speak their minds, who having taken great pains in enquiring into this whole matter, as appears in their works, must be allowed as well qualified for giving their information. The former says, that many of the greatest controversies are already as good as reconciled by the judicious, though not by blunderers, and that more may be; what better encouragement for this Essay?

The other, whose either learning, or piety, or industry is not suspected by any Dissenter, says, that a great part of the difference between the papists, and reformed, is not in *doctrines of faith*, but *misexpressions, misunderstandings, mistakes, and inconvenient expressions* on both sides; and can then any Dissenter think this sufficient cause for a schism between churches? And as for those differences, which he says are great, and irreconcilable, *viz. Church-tyranny, Usurpations*; these, upon enquiry, seem to be chiefly differences of the *court of Rome*, and not of the *church*, since, as it is evident from what has been said above, the communion with that church no where obliges its
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members to assent to, or even approve such *tyranny*, or *usurpations*, or any thing that is befriending *vice*, or *error*; but they are at as full liberty of disapproving them, as we, who are not of that church. So that the account being duly made up, there seems, according to Mr. *Baxter's* scheme, not many differences remaining to be reconciled; especially of those, which he calls *Unreconcilable*; for though they are certainly such, to which we can never be reconciled; yet so they are likewise to infinite numbers within the church of *Rome*, who can no more be reconciled with them than we, but, with us, are constant opposers of them.

And here now I cannot but express my great surprize at the *Romanists* here in this nation; for, whereas they may renounce all that *Tyranny*, and *Usurpation*, all the *Encroachments of the Pontificat*, and the *Unlimited Supremacy*, with all those other *principles*, and *practices*, which are points that render them obnoxious to the government: whereas, I say, they may do this without injury to their profession of faith, or any one term
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of their communion; they stand still, and suffer both in their persons, and estates, and in the most infamous character cast upon their church, as the teacher of such detestable doctrines, without ever once endeavouring to justify themselves to the state, or clearing themselves, or the church from the scandal of such doctrines.

This is a matter of surprize to me, and seems (they will give me leave to tell them so) a *great folly* in them. For, though to suffer peaceably for their faith, be commendable, and what they esteem the part of a confessor, or martyr, yet to suffer for *school opinions*, for the divinity of *Bellarmin*, or in compliment to the *court of Rome*, (such as are all the points above) is what may give them a title to *humour*, or *madness*; but never to any recompence in heaven, since God has nowhere engaged his word to be the rewarder of such suffering: And what is the occasion of their being distinguished, by the severity of penalties, from all other bodies of Christians, but these very points? Can they imagine the state is so averse to their *speculative doctrines*, as upon this score only, to prosecute them

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with so many penal statutes? Do not they see all manner of speculative opinions are tolerated by law, and even such as seem levelled against Christianity? And can they think then, that their speculations are the occasion of their suffering? Such great partiality in speculatives, cannot reasonably be supposed, especially in persons who express so great a compassion to tender consciences, and disapprove persecution upon the sole score of religion. Upon which consideration, the inference seems rational, that if they had a mind no longer to be *Bellarmin's martyrs*, nor *confessors for School opinions*, but give the state security of never abetting such pernicious principles, * they might hope to come in with their speculations, and have a share of that favour, which is shewn to Jews, Quakers, and Socinians, and not fear extirpation upon the account of harmless religious notions.

And this they may do, for they know those enflaming doctrines are no part of
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* The Roman Catholics of England and Ireland, have lately, agreeable to act of Parliament, given a full and solemn test of their abhorrence of such pernicious principles, as well as of their allegiance and attachment to the King, and civil Constitution of their Country.

their faith, neither does their church any where enjoin an assent to them; nay they know these very principles are opposed by firm members of their own communion, and in practice resolutely withstood. Why then do they stand still, and suffer on this account, and by their silence give occasion to the whole nation of believing their church to be so infamous, as to teach such doctrines, and that as many as are in its communion are bound to receive them? This silence I cannot understand. But not to exceed in this digression, I return, and conclude with this wish, that our present generation, both divines, and others would have some regard to the deliberate judgment of the learned, who have given such encouragement to this present essay, and to the method of a catholic peace. I cannot pretend those I have mentioned through this little work to be exempt from error; but I can say, they were men of as great learning, sound judgment, and eminent piety, as our church has ever brought forth; and having with a particular industry, applied their labours to the study of the
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antient fathers and primitive Christianity, they must be allowed the best qualified to speak in this point. It is not then an ill name, or flinging dirt at them (the prevailing arms of passion, ignorance and prejudice) is enough to overthrow their evidence; but this ought to be revered, till there appears a different account from some others, who have a more certain insight into the apostolic times. And who are these? Under the authority then of these great, and learned men, I take shelter against all reproaches, but with much more comfort, under the blessing of *Beati Pacifici*: *Blessed are the peace-makers*; while I seek nothing but the cure of schism, and the blessing of peace.

F I N I S.



